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THE LIFE

OF

PAUL JONES,

FROM

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

IN THE POSSESSION OF

JOHN HENRY SHERBURNE, Esq.

REGISTER OF THE NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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PREFACE.

PAUL JONES is known as a rebel and a pirate. Five and twenty years have not elapsed since the nurses of Scotland hushed their crying infants by the whisper of his name, and chap-books are even now to be purchased in which he is depicted in all the plenitude of terrific glory, the rival of Blackbeard, and the worthy successor of the Buccaneers.

It is singular that such a character should have been honoured by the especial favour of the most illustrious courts of Christendom. The agents of authority certainly do not always bear an unblemished reputation, but it is not by imperial crosses and royal orders that the labours of such assistants are rewarded. There is for them the secret service money and the suspected subsidy; for the most absolute despotism depends upon

a feeling of honour, and the most abject of nobles would deem his feelings outraged, if he wore the same ribbon as a pirate. But Paul Jones was the intimate and respected friend of many of the most distinguished and most estimable characters of his age, and, above all, the illustrious Franklin signalled him out as the object of his sincere and valuable friendship. We shall, in the following pages, learn in what circumstances the popular conception of Paul Jones's character has originated.

Every account of the life of an extraordinary individual, no matter of what country or what profession, is extremely valuable. It increases our experience of human nature. But it is not merely upon this ground that the life of Paul Jones is worthy the attention of the reader. The age in which he lived was the parallel of the present one. The revolt of the Anglo-American colonies had produced, in the mind of Europe, a similar effect to that which is the consequence of the revolt of Mexico and the States of South America. The same passions were excited in

the eighteenth century; governments were placed in similar situations; and new interests then arose, as are now arising. In becoming acquainted with the secret thoughts and conduct of the most eminent of the revolutionary leaders, much light will be thrown upon transactions which are now the objects of our observation; and by entering into the cabinets of Europe at the latter end of the last century, we may discover the situation of some of the cabinets of the present one. We may become acquainted with prime ministers, stripped of their diplomatic decencies, and while we commiserate the difficulty of their situation, we may learn by what principles their political conduct is dictated.

Such are the points upon which this volume will instruct us; and perhaps we should now say something of the documents on which it has been founded.

The original papers of Paul Jones were formerly in the possession of the late Robert Hyslop, Esq. of New York. On the death of that gentleman, they were obtained by Mr. George A. Ward, of

the same city, who parted with them to John Henry Sherburne Esq., the Register of the Navy of the United States. That no suspicion might arise as to their genuineness, those of the letters which had been addressed to the Marquis de la Fayette were submitted by Mr. Sherburne to the inspection of that nobleman on his recent visit to the United States; and La Fayette has attested the authenticity of each of them, by an autographical memorandum. A considerable number of papers, relative to Paul Jones, were also obtained by Mr. Sherburne from the department of state, through the kindness of Mr. Adams when Secretary. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Maddison, both formerly presidents of the United States, were also applied to. The latter gentleman "regretted that it was not in his power to add to the materials which Mr. Sherburne had derived from other sources, although he was acquainted with Paul Jones and could attest the exact likeness of his bust by Houdon." Mr. Jefferson writes, "my memory is so decayed, that I believe I cannot better comply with your request, than by

sending you all the papers relating to him in my possession. His letters to me, which are many, will probably throw some light, which you may not possess, upon his occupation during my residence at Paris." It is imagined, that no doubt can possibly exist as to the authenticity of the materials upon which this volume is founded.

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THE LIFE

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PAUL JONES.

CHAPTER I.

Jones's birth—His voyage to America—His retirement—Rise of the American Navy—He enters it—State of the American Navy—Their first operations—Jones promoted to the Providence—His plans for the improvement of the American Navy—His first cruise—His expeditions against Newfoundland—His African plan—His expedition against Isle Royal—Capture of the Mellish—His promotion—And letter to the Secret Committee.

JOHN PAUL JONES was born in the month of July, 1747, at Arbegland, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, in Scotland. His father, John Paul, was a gardener, and young Paul received the rudiments of his education at the parochial school of Kirkbean.

The contiguity of his residence to the shore of

the Solway Firth inspired him with an early predilection for a seafaring life; and his friends, yielding to the ardour of his youthful supplications, sent him at the age of twelve across the Firth to Whitehaven, and bound him apprentice to a merchant in the American trade, of the name of Younger.

Before he had completed his thirteenth year he landed on the shores of that country which he was destined to adopt as his own.

Young Paul was at length freed from the trammels of apprenticeship. Of his life at this period scarcely any memorials exist, except that he made several voyages to various parts of Europe and America. From certain details, which are contained in a letter written at a more advanced period of his life, it is evident that he had been engaged in commerce to no inconsiderable extent, and had suffered from the ill conduct of his partner. In 1773 he was in Virginia, arranging the affairs of his brother, who had died intestate in that county. It is probable that Paul, at this period, was suffering from pecuniary difficulties.

It is certain that he was living in America in a very retired manner, and about this time he adopted the name of Jones.

In a letter to the Honourable Robert Morris, written three years after this period, he says, "I conclude that Mr. Hewes has acquainted you with a very great misfortune which befel me some years ago, and which brought me into North America. I am under no concern whatever that this, or any past circumstance of my life, will sink me in your opinion. Since human wisdom cannot secure us from accidents, it is the greatest effort of wisdom to bear them well."

If, as is most probable, he alludes by the phrase "very great misfortune," to some incident of his commercial life, it must be observed, that we shall have hereafter to admire his pure and honourable conduct on this subject.

Before the British American colonies had avowed their independence, the maritime aggressions of Great Britain had determined the American Congress to proceed to reprisal. It was resolved therefore that a naval force should im-

mediately be fitted out, and an eager search was made for individuals capable of acting on board the infant fleet.

Jones had at this period just completed his twenty-eighth year, and had already begun to discover that he was not precisely suited for the solitude which the first disappointment of life had made him deem so valuable. The cause of American liberty had found in him an early advocate, and he watched with deep interest the political agitation, which seemed now about to subside into submission, and now to burst into independence. The want which was then generally felt of able naval officers gave him an opportunity of offering his services to the Congress, and on the 22d December, 1775, he was appointed by that body a first lieutenant of the American navy.

The first proceedings of the American squadron were not very successful. In consequence of intelligence which they received, that there was a large quantity of military stores at New Providence, one of the Bahama isles, two sloops, with a body of three hundred men, were dispatched to

that island. The Americans failed in surprizing the island by night, and though they landed the next morning without opposition, they found, to their mortification, that the governor had sent off the military stores the night before.

A few days after this affair of New Providence the American squadron fell in with the Glasgow man-of-war, and the broadsides of the English seem somewhat to have astonished the heroes of the Bahama isles. It was long before they were again able to put to sea. Sickness prevailed very generally, and scarcely a ship was manned. Jones, who panted for a new expedition, deeply lamented the unfortunate state of the American navy; "the seamen," he says in a letter to the Hon. Mr. Hewes, "almost to a man, entered into the army before the fleet was set on foot; and I am well informed, that there are four or five thousand seamen now in the land service."

The difficulty of procuring seamen was not the only one to be encountered. The unfortunate engagement with the Glasgow produced considerable dissatisfaction; and unfavourable reflections

were cast upon the different officers. The subordinate situation of Lieutenant Jones preserved him from any particular animadversion, yet he felt very keenly the severity of the public murmur; "my station," he observes to Mr. Hewes, "confined me to the Alfred's lower gun-deck, where I commanded during the action; yet although the commander's letter, which has been published, says, 'all the officers in the Alfred behaved well,' still the public blames me—no officer, under a superior, who does not stand charged by that superior for cowardice or misconduct, can be blamed on any occasion whatever. I wish a general inquiry might be made respecting the abilities of officers in all stations, and then the country would not be cheated."

The truth is, there really does not appear any cause for the dissatisfaction which existed; but, with a struggling people, ill success is always unpopular, and that which is unpopular seldom meets with justice.

Two courts-martial were, however, held on board the Alfred, and their consequences were, as

they affected Jones, his promotion to the command of the Providence.

It is more difficult to establish a navy than an army. When an insurrection takes place, an armed crowd immediately assembles, and they are soon drilled into some sort of discipline. The common danger makes the soldier docile in his conduct, and the commander impartial in the selection of his officers. But a navy is always an afterthought; it is established by the authority of an existing government—not by the instant fears of an agitated people—and favouritism and corruption are seldom absent.

The American navy in its origin was feebly and badly organized; the officers were not only inefficient in their professional conduct, but unskilful in the general management. Their brutal behaviour disgusted the common men, and they were perpetually quarrelling among themselves on the most frivolous points of etiquette.

Paul Jones deeply lamented this unhappy state of affairs:—"It is certainly for the interest of the service," he writes, "that a cordial interchange of

civilities should subsist between inferior and superior officers. Men of liberal minds, who have been long accustomed to command, can ill brook being thus set at nought. The rude, ungentle treatment which they experience creates such heart-burnings as are in no wise consonant with that cheerful, ardent spirit, which ought ever to be the characteristic of an officer." Writing to the Hon. Mr. Hewes, he tells him, " in my opinion, a commander in the navy ought to be a man of a strong and well connected sense, with a tolerable education, a gentleman as well as a seaman, both in theory and practice."

On the 13th of December, 1775, Congress directed the building of thirteen frigates; but Jones was disappointed in being still retained in the command of the Providence. He was employed for some time in escorting vessels from Rhode Island into the Sound, and in convoying from Boston to Philadelphia. From a letter which he wrote to the Hon. Mr. Morris, it appears that he was actively engaged in annoying the British trade; but the state of the American navy

still excited his deep interest:—"As the regulations of the navy are of the utmost consequence, you will not think it presumptive if, with the utmost diffidence, I venture to communicate to you such hints as, in my judgment, will promote its honour and good government. I could heartily wish, that every commissioned officer were to be previously examined; for, to my certain knowledge, there are persons who have already crept into commission without abilities or fit qualifications: I am myself far from desiring to be excused. From experience in ours, as well as from my former intimacy with many officers of note in the British navy, I am convinced that the parity of rank between sea and land or marine officers is of more consequence to the harmony of the service than has been generally imagined. In the British establishment, an Admiral ranks with a General; a Vice-Admiral with a Lieutenant-General; a Rear-Admiral with a Major-General; a Commodore with a Brigadier-General; a Captain with a Colonel; a Master and Commander with a Lieutenant-Colonel; a Lieutenant Commanding with

a Major; and a Lieutenant in the navy ranks with a Captain of horse, foot, or marines. I propose not our enemies as an example for our general imitation; yet, as their navy is the best regulated of any in the world, we must in some degree imitate them, and aim at such further improvements as may one day make ours vie with and exceed theirs."

From September, 1776, Jones was engaged in an active cruise till the following October. His exertions were very successful, since he took "sixteen sail; manned and sent in eight, and sunk, burnt or otherwise destroyed the rest."

He complains to Mr. Morris of an important expedition, which he had planned against the fishery of Newfoundland, and which was likely to fail from the want of men, who were enticed away by the privateers. "It is to the last degree distressing to contemplate the state and establishment of our navy. The common class of mankind are actuated by no nobler principle than that of self-interest. This and this only determines all adventures in privateers; the owners, as well

as those they employ; and while this is the case, unless the private emolument of individuals in our navy is made superior to that in privateers, it never can become respectable — it never will become formidable; and, without a respectable navy, alas America! In the present critical situation of human affairs, wisdom can suggest no more than one infallible expedient: enlist the seamen during pleasure, and give them all the prizes. What is the paltry emolument of two-thirds of prizes to the finances of this vast continent? If so poor a resource is essential to its independency, in sober sadness we are involved in a woful predicament, and our ruin is fast approaching. The situation of America is new in the annals of mankind: her affairs cry *haste!* and speed must answer them. Trifles, therefore, ought to be wholly disregarded, as being in the old vulgar proverb 'penny wise and pound foolish.' If our enemies, with the best established and most formidable navy in the universe, have found it expedient to assign all prizes to the captors, how much more is such policy essential to our infant fleet? But I need use no

arguments to convince you of the necessity of making the emoluments of our navy equal if not superior to theirs. We have had proof, that a navy may be officered almost upon any terms, but we are not so sure that these officers are equal to their commissions; nor will the Congress ever obtain such certainty until they, in their wisdom, see proper to appoint a Board of Admiralty competent to determine impartially the respective merits and abilities of their officers, and to superintend, regulate, and point out all the motions and operations of the navy."

The correspondents of Jones were members of Congress; and his frequent and admirable observations on the state of the navy did not pass unnoticed.

"An expedition of importance," he tells Mr. Morris, "may be effected this winter on the coast of Africa, with part of the original fleet; either the Alfred or Columbus with the Andrew Doria and Providence, would, I am persuaded, carry all before them, and give a blow to the English African trade, which would not soon be recovered,

by not leaving them a mast standing on that coast. This expedition would be attended with no great expense; besides, the ships and vessels mentioned are unfit for service on a winter coast, which is not the case with the new frigates. The small squadron for this purpose ought to sail early, that the prizes may reach our ports in March or April. If I do not succeed in manning the Alfred so as to proceed to the eastward in course of this week, the season will be lost; the coal fleet will be gone to Halifax, and the fishermen to Europe."

The Providence was a sloop, and carried but twelve six-pounders. During the cruise, it fell in with the Solebay frigate of twenty-eight guns, and afterwards with the Mitford frigate of thirty-two guns. Jones escaped them both, after a sharp action with the Solebay, which lasted several hours. He afterwards sailed to the Isle Madame, destroyed the fishing establishments there, and burnt a considerable number of vessels.

On his return home, at the end of the year 1776, he was immediately appointed to the command of a squadron in Rhode Island. The

chief point of this expedition was Isle Royal. In his way to this place Jones fell in with the Mellish, an armed vessel from Liverpool; this ship he captured, and he found that it contained 10,000 suits of uniform, which were intended for the army of General Burgoyne. It so happened, that at this moment the troops of Washington were almost destitute of clothing. The capture of the Mellish was, therefore, most opportune, and tended, in no slight degree, to increase the reputation of Jones. After capturing many prizes, the commander of the little squadron arrived at Isle Royal. All the buildings appropriated to the whale and cod fisheries were destroyed, together with a very valuable transport; but the chief object of the expedition, which was to release the Americans who were confined in the coal-mines there, was not effected. Jones complained strongly to Mr. Hewes of the conduct of the officers under him, "it completely overset the expedition."

The irregularities of which Jones complained arose altogether from the omission of Congress to

establish a due gradation of rank among the officers of the navy. But their most urgent attention was now given to that important branch of national defence. A list of captains was immediately published, and Jones's name was inserted in it; regulations as to the pay, rank, and uniform of the different branches of the navy were immediately formed, and the whole force was placed in a much more efficient state.

Jones was now acting under the commission of Captain, from the independent authorities of the United States of America.*

* In Congress.

The Delegates of the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia,

To JOHN PAUL JONES, Esquire.

We, reposing especial trust and confidence in your patriotism, valour, conduct and fidelity, do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be Captain in the Navy of the United States of North America, fitted out for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Captain by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all officers, marines, and seamen under your command, to be obedient to your orders as Captain. And

After receiving his commission as Captain, Jones devoted himself for a considerable time to the communication of his opinions, as to the course which should be pursued to attain that perfection in the American navy, which he so ardently desired. Many of his ideas have been adopted by the present American government, and have been carried into effect on a very extensive scale. All his plans are distinguished by the same practical wisdom, of which we have before taken the opportunity of recording our admiration.

In a letter to Mr. Morris he strongly recommends the appointment of Commissioners of Dock

you are to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United States, or Committee of Congress for that purpose appointed, or Commander-in-Chief for the time being of the navy of the United States, or any other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war, the usage of the sea, and the instructions herewith given you, in pursuance of the trust reposed in you. This commission to continue in force until revoked by this or a future Congress.

Dated at Philadelphia, October 10, 1776.

By order of the Congress,

Attest, JOHN HANCOCK, President.

CHA. THOMSON, Secretary.

Yards, to superintend the building and outfit of all ships of war. He adds, "I must repeat what I asserted formerly, that unless some happy expedient can be fallen upon to induce the seamen to enter into the service for a longer term than twelve months, it will never be possible to bring them under proper subordination, and subordination is as necessary, nay far more so, in the fleet than in the army. Present advantage, though small, will operate far more on the minds of seamen than future prospects, though great. They ought at least to enter during the war—if not during pleasure."

France was the European power to whom America, in her fearful struggle, looked up for secret assistance, if not for open countenance. The hereditary enmity which existed between that country and Great Britain; the opportunity which the patronage of the American cause offered of revenging past discomfiture, and of increasing present dominion, all combined to make the Court of Versailles view with no unfavouring eye the transatlantic overtures. An anxiety as

to the nature of the means by which their political ascendancy was to be obtained has never been the characteristic of the illustrious House of Bourbon; and I will not stop here to contrast the disgraceful eagerness with which the descendant of St. Louis sanctified the rebellion of the English colonies, with the prudent generosity with which the Court of London watched the gleam of the last war-blade on the Cordillera of the Andes.

Verily the French cabinet had their reward! And the very men, who, authorized by their secret instructions, hastened to assist rebellion in the colonies of a friendly power, returned to exercise on their own country a retributive vengeance.

In the year 1777, American commissioners resided in Paris; and "as a reward for the zeal he had shewn, and for the signal services which he had performed in vessels of little force," it was resolved to dispatch Jones to Paris, with an order to these commissioners "to invest him with the command of a fine ship."

Every thing was arranged for the departure of Jones, when, in the month of May, he sent in a communication to the Secret Committee, in con-

sequence of which the whole design was laid aside, and Congress immediately passed the two following resolutions:

In Congress, June 14, 1777.

Resolved, That the flag of the Thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation.

Resolved, That Captain J. Paul Jones be appointed to command the ship Ranger.

Jones was presented with unlimited instructions: "we shall not limit you to any particular cruizing station, but leave you at large to search for yourself, where the greatest chance of success presents." The Captain of the Ranger was immediately to proceed to *France*. We shall in the next Chapter become acquainted with the subject of the mysterious letter which so suddenly changed the proceedings of the American Congress.

Before his departure, Jones dispatched the following letter to Tobago.

It will probably explain the nature of "the

very great misfortunes," which he before so feelingly mentioned. We give the letter entire, for there is not a word which should be omitted. It is written to an old and respected friend. The heart of the bold Captain of the Ranger, the favourite of the American Congress, evidently sinks as he addresses one who had been acquainted with him in a far different situation, and we know not which most affected us, the mixture of recklessness and feeling with which he commences, or his remembrance of his aged mother.

Boston, 4th May, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

After an unprofitable suspense of twenty months, (having subsisted on *fifty pounds only* during that time,) when my hopes of relief were entirely cut off, and there remained no possibility of my receiving wherewithal to subsist upon from my effects in your island, or in England, I at last had recourse to strangers for that aid and comfort which was denied me by those friends whom I had entrusted with my all. The good offices

which are rendered to persons in their extreme need, ought to make deep impressions on grateful minds; in my case I feel the truth of that sentiment, and am bound by gratitude, as well as honour, to follow the fortunes of my late benefactors.

"I have lately seen Mr. Sicaton (late manager on the estate of Arch. Stuart, Esq.) who informed me that Mr. Ferguson had quitted Orange Valley, on being charged with the unjust application of the property of his employers. I have been, and am extremely concerned at this account; I wish to disbelieve it, although it seems too much of a piece with the unfair advantage which, *to all appearance*, he took of me, when he left me in exile for twenty months, a prey to melancholy and want, and withheld my property without writing a word in excuse of his conduct. Thus circumstanced I have taken the liberty of sending you a letter of attorney, by Captain Cleaveland, who undertakes to deliver it himself, as he goes for Tobago via Martinico. You have inclosed a copy of a list of debts acknowledged, which I re-

ceived from Mr. Ferguson, when I saw you last at Orange Valley. You have also a list of debts contracted with me, together with Ferguson's receipt. And there remained a considerable property unsold, besides some best Madeira wine which he had shipped for London. By the state of accounts which I sent to England on my arrival on this continent, there was a balance due to me from the ship Betsy, of £909: 15*s.* 3*d.* sterling; and in my account with Robert Young, Esq. 29th January, 1773, then appeared a balance in my favour of £281: 1*s.* 8*d.* sterling; these sums exceed my drafts and just debts together, so that, if I am fairly dealt with, I ought to receive a considerable remittance from that quarter. You will please to observe that there were nine pieces of coarse camblets shipped at Cork, *over and above the quantity expressed in the bill of lading.* It seems the shippers, finding their mistake, applied for the goods; and, as I have been informed from Grenada, Mr. Ferguson laid hold of this opportunity to propagate a report that all the goods which I put into his hands were the property of that house in

Cork. If this base suggestion hath gained belief, it accounts for all the neglect which I have experienced. But however my connections are changed, my principles as an honest man of candour and integrity are the same; therefore should there not be a sufficiency of my property in England to answer my just debts, I declare that it is my first wish to make up such deficiency from my property in Tobago; and were even that also to fall short, I am ready and willing to make full and ample remittances from hence, upon hearing from you the true state of my affairs. As I hope my dear Mother is still alive, I must inform you that I wish my property in Tobago, or in England, after paying my just debts, to be applied for her support. Your own feelings, my dear sir, make it unnecessary for me to use arguments to prevail with you on this tender point. Any remittances which you may be enabled to make, through the hands of my good friend Captain John Plainer, of Cork, will be faithfully put into her hands; she hath several orphan grandchildren to provide for;

I have made no apology for giving you this trouble, my situation will, I trust, obtain your free pardon.

I am always with perfect esteem,

Dear sir,

Your very obliged, very obedient,

And most humble servant,

J. PAUL JONES.

STUART MAWEY, Esquire,

Tobago.

CHAPTER II.

The subject of the letter to the Secret Committee—Jones arrives in France—The descent upon Whitehaven—The adventure of St Mary's Isle—The engagement with the Drake—The Countess of Selkirk.

It is singular that during the first years of the American navy, with the exception of Paul Jones, no man of any talent is to be found directing its operations. Had it not been for the exertions of this individual, who was unsupported by fortune or connection, it is very probable that the American naval power would have gradually disappeared. But Jones was not contented with reforming petty abuses in the profession which he so loved, or conducting expeditions near the shores of his country. His views were more extensive, and his comprehensive mind had been long intent upon undertakings far more important. The moment that he had obtained a due rank in the service of his country, and when, from the im-

portance of his services, his advice became to be considered as authority, he instantly developed his ideas to the assembled Congress. The plan of Jones was characterised by a magnificent boldness, unusual to the naval operations of those days; and indeed it may be doubted, whether any mode of conduct was ever recommended to the notice of a government, at once so daring in its conception, and so matured in its detail.

It required indeed no slight degree of courage to recommend to a government of a country yet covered with hostile armies, and whose shores were surrounded by hostile fleets, to spare the most efficient part of its little naval force, and to send it to attack its powerful enemy in his very country. Yet such was the plan of Paul Jones, and at the latter end of the year 1777, he arrived at Nantes, in France, with the view of maturing his operations *for attacking the coast of England.*

It is singular that Jones, when he entered the American service under the Reprisal resolution, was the first man who hoisted the independent standard: he now in the Ranger was the first

who hoisted the Union flag, and, at his arrival at Brest, he had the honour of the first salute which the American flag had ever received from a foreign man-of-war. The French fleet under Count D'Orvilliers was at Brest on his arrival. The Captain of the Ranger delayed his salute, until he was assured that the compliment would be returned. This honour was the prelude of war with England.

It has been often stated, that Jones was a pirate, or a privateer at the best. His commission is a sufficient answer to either of these accusations; but to establish the fact, that he was acting in concert with the authorities of the United States, both at home and abroad, we may observe, that he was furnished by the American commissioners at Paris, with a letter of credit on their agent at Nantes for 500 louis-d'or. The signature of Dr. Franklin as one of the commissioners, is attached to the order.

Jones sailed from Brest on the 10th of April, 1778. From the nature of his plan, he was little desirous of encumbering himself with prisoners,

and he therefore avoided making prizes. His intention was to make a descent at Whitehaven. The weather, however, was unfavourable for his enterprize for some days, and he continued hovering about the coast, sinking all the craft he met, in order " to prevent intelligence."

On the 21st, being near Carrickfergus, he detained a fishing-boat for information. He was surprized by seeing a ship at anchor in the road; this he found to be the Drake, a British ship of war of twenty guns. He determined to attack her in the night, but the wind was high, and, from some accident which happened to his cable, his plan failed. After some very stormy weather, it was resolved, on the 22d, to make the descent. The harbour of Whitehaven was one of the most important in Great Britain, containing generally 400 sail, and some of a very considerable size. The town itself contained near 60,000 inhabitants, and was strongly fortified. When night came on, the wind became so light, that the Ranger could not approach as near the shore as its commander had originally intended. At midnight, therefore, he left the ship, with two

boats and thirty-one men who volunteered to accompany him. As they reached the out-pier, the day began to dawn: in spite, however, of this circumstance, Jones determined not to abandon the enterprize, but, dispatching one boat with Lieutenant Wallingford with the necessary combustibles to the north side of the harbour, he proceeded with the other party to the southern side. There was a dead silence when Jones, at the head of his party, scaled the walls. He succeeded in spiking all the cannon of the first fort; and the sentinels, being shut up in the guard-house, were fairly surprized. Having succeeded thus far, Jones, with only one man, spiked up all the cannon on the southern fort, distant from the other a quarter of a mile.

These daring exploits being all performed without disturbing a single being, Jones anxiously looked for the expected blaze on the north side of the harbour. His anxiety was further increased, as all the combustibles had been entrusted to the northern party, they, after performing their task, having to join him to fire the shipping on the

south side. The anxiously expected blaze did not, however, appear; Jones hastened to Lieutenant Wallingford, and found the whole party in confusion, their light having burnt out at the instant when it became necessary. By a sad fatality his own division were in the same plight, for, in hurrying to the southern party, their candles had also burnt out. The day was breaking apace, and the failure of the expedition seemed complete. Any other commander but Jones would, in this predicament, have thought himself fortunate in making his retreat good; but Jones would not retreat. He had the boldness to send a man to a house detached from the town to ask for a light; the request was successful, and fire was kindled in the steerage of a large ship, which was surrounded by at least one hundred and fifty others, chiefly from two to four hundred tons burthen. There was not time to fire any more than one place, and Jones's care was to prevent that one from being easily extinguished. After some search a barrel of tar was found, and poured into the flames, which now burnt up from all the

hatchways. " The inhabitants," says Jones in his letter to the American commissioners, " began to appear in thousands, and individuals ran hastily towards us; I stood between them and the ship on fire, with a pistol in my hand, and ordered them to retire, which they did with precipitation. The flames had already caught the rigging, and began to ascend the mainmast; the sun was a full hour's march above the horizon, and as sleep no longer ruled the world, it was time to retire; we reimbarked without opposition. After all my people had embarked, I stood upon the pier for a considerable time, yet no persons advanced; I saw all the eminences around the town covered with the enraged inhabitants.

" When we had rowed to a considerable distance from the shore, the English began to run in vast numbers to their forts. Their disappointment may be easily imagined, when they found at least thirty cannon, the instruments of their vengeance, rendered useless. At length, however, they began to fire; having, as I apprehend, either brought down ship-guns, or used one or two

cannon which lay on the beach at the foot of the walls, dismantled, and which had not been spiked. They fired with no direction, and the shot falling short of the boats, instead of doing any damage, afforded us some diversion, which my people could not help shewing by firing their pistols, &c. in return of the salute. Had it been possible to have landed a few hours sooner, my success would have been complete; not a single ship out of more than 200 could possibly have escaped, and all the world would not have been able to have saved the town. What was done, however, is sufficient to shew, that not all their boasted navy can protect their own coasts, and that the scenes of distress, which they have occasioned in America, may be soon brought home to their own door!"

He adds, "one of my people was missing; and must, I fear, have fallen into the enemy's hands after our departure. I was pleased that in this business we neither killed nor wounded any person; I brought off three prisoners *as a sample*."

The missing man need not have been regretted;

he was a traitor, and his exertions, not the breaking of the morn, nor the sudden blaze, saved the town. I find by a newspaper of the time, an extraordinary number of which was published the morning after the descent, that " a little after three o'clock this morning a man rapped at several doors in Marlborough Street, (adjoining one of the piers,) and informed them that fire had been set to one of the ships in the harbour; that matches were laid in several others; that the whole would be soon in a blaze, and the town also destroyed; that he was one belonging to the crew, but had escaped for the purpose of saving, if possible, the town and shipping from destruction.*"

The descent at Whitehaven produced consternation all over the kingdom. Expresses were immediately dispatched to all the capital seaports; all strangers in Whitehaven were immediately ordered to be arrested; similar directions were forwarded through the country. Look-out vessels were appointed at every port; continual meetings

* Cumberland Pacquet Extraordinary, April 23.

of the principal inhabitants were held all down the coast; companies were raised by subscription; and all forts and guns were immediately put into proper condition.

These active operations did not, however, deter the commander of the Ranger from carrying on the execution of his bold conceptions. From Whitehaven the Americans stood over to the Scotch shore, and the very noon of the day whose dawn had witnessed the firing of the Cumberland shipping, was the moment selected for an exploit, if possible, of a still more daring nature.

The treatment of the American prisoners of war in England had long been the subject of bitter and just complaint, not only by their own countrymen, but by the majority of the English nation itself. Subscriptions for their relief, and even sustenance, had been opened in most of the principal towns of Great Britain; but this ebullition of national feeling had not yet produced any change in the conduct of the administration.—Paul Jones was deeply affected by the sufferings of his imprisoned countrymen, and was constantly

intent " upon striking a blow in their favour." His favourite plan was to gain possession of the person of some Englishman of high rank, and then, by the influence of the captive noble, to procure an amelioration of the condition of his imprisoned countrymen.

With this view, Jones suddenly, on the celebrated 23d of April, landed at noon on St. Mary's Isle, accompanied by a boat's crew. On this island was the family seat of the Earl of Selkirk, and to this mansion Jones immediately directed his steps. Before, however, he reached the house, he learnt, that the Earl had lately left St. Mary's for the metropolis. As the object of the expedition could not now be obtained, Jones proposed to re-embark, but his crew murmured. The English, they said, were not accustomed to spare either life or property in America, and they saw not why, as they had landed, they should not pay their intended visit. They were the same men who had landed at Whitehaven, and the captain could scarcely refuse them this reasonable favour. He himself however avoided a personal interference,

and leaving the command of his men to his lieutenant, with strict injunctions to behave with scrupulous politeness, he returned to his ship. The crew were somewhat moved by their leader's delicacy. They would not enter the mansion, but entrusted the business to their commanding officer. Lady Selkirk met the lieutenant, and behaved with great firmness: the officer's demand was moderate, at least for one in his situation, and the boat's crew returned to the Ranger with the family plate of the house of Douglas.

On the succeeding morning Jones was off Carrickfergus, and was meditating an entrance into that port, when he found that, during his expedition to St. Mary's Isle, the English had not been inactive. His old friend the Drake was seen slowly approaching him: she was attended by five small vessels full of people, who were anxious to witness the punishment of the redoubted Ranger. The Drake had come out in consequence of an express from Whitehaven, and was very fully manned. Alarm smokes now appeared in great abundance, extending along both sides of the channel. The tide was unfavourable, so

that the Drake worked out of harbour but slowly. This obliged the Ranger to run down several times, and to lay with courses up and main topsail to the mast. At length the Drake weathered the point, and having led out to about mid-channel, Jones suffered her to come within hail. The Drake now hoisted English colours, and at the same moment the American stars were displayed on board the Ranger. The American commander expected that preface was now at an end, but the English soon after hailed, and demanded what ship it was? The answer was characteristic—"The American ship Ranger; we wait for you, and desire that you will come on. The sun is now little more than one hour from setting, it is therefore time to begin."

The Drake being astern of the Ranger, Jones ordered the helm up, and gave the first broadside. The action was warm, close, and obstinate; it lasted an hour and four minutes, when the enemy struck. The fore and main topsail yards of the Drake were cut away, and down on the cap; the top-gallant and mizen-gaff both hanging

up and down along the mast; the second ensign, which the Drake had hoisted, had been shot away, and was hanging on the quarter-gallery in the water; her sails and rigging were entirely cut to pieces; her masts and yards all wounded, and her hull very much galled. The captain received a musket ball in his head the moment before they called for quarter, and expired just after the Ranger's people boarded their prize: the lieutenant survived the captain only two days. "I buried them," says Jones, in his letter to the American commissioners, "with the honours due to their rank, and with the respect due to their memory." The English suffered dreadfully, from the number of their crew. Jones lost his lieutenant, but his men suffered slightly.

Such was the issue of this anxiously expected contest; glorious indeed to Jones and his crew, but producing a consternation in the minds of the inhabitants of the surrounding coasts quite unparalleled. The descent upon Whitehaven,—the expedition to St. Mary's, and the boldness of its avowed object,—the capture of the Drake, followed

with such rapidity, that the public mind was perfectly thunderstruck. Rumour increased the terror for which there was but good reason. The daily journals teemed hourly with circumstantial accounts of strange seventy-fours seen in the Channel — of expeditions which were never planned— and destruction which never occurred! In one night Paul Jones was in all parts of England, and his dreadful name was a sufficient reason for surveys of fortifications, and subscriptions to build them. At Whitehaven they subscribed upwards of a thousand pounds, and engineers were immediately ordered down to take a survey of the harbour, in order to erect some works on the north side of it.* Four companies were immediately ordered to Whitehaven, and a company of Gentlemen Volunteers was also formed there. The express that brought the news from Belfast of the capture of the Drake was put upon his oath.†

When the ships were refitted, Jones put his

* London Magazine for May 1778.

† Cumberland Pacquet, April 28.

first lieutenant Simpson in the command of the Drake; he also released the "honest fishermen" whom he had taken upon the 21st. "As the poor fellows had lost their boat, she having sunk in the late stormy weather, I was happy in having it in my power to give them the necessary sum to purchase every thing new which they had lost. I gave them also a good boat to transport themselves ashore, and sent with them two infirm men, on whom I bestowed the last guinea in my possession, to defray their travelling expenses to their proper home in Dublin. They took with them one of the Drake's sails, which would sufficiently explain what had happened to the volunteers of Belfast. The grateful fishermen were in rapture, and expressed their joy in three huzzas as they passed the Ranger's quarters."

Jones now thought of returning. Splendid as had been his successes, he was convinced that, had he been properly supported, much more might have been done. A great want of subordination had been always apparent in his men: the American common sailors, carrying their notions

of civil government on board a man-of-war, imagined that they had a right to be consulted whenever any extraordinary duty was to be performed. Jones had been formed in a very different school; he was a strict disciplinarian, and required every thing to be performed with the most rigid punctuality and obedience. But he was well acquainted with the faults of the American naval system, and his ambition was to reform it. His patience was, however, somewhat taxed when, on making signals to his consort, the Drake, he found them totally disregarded, and that Lieutenant Simpson, who commanded the prize, did not consider himself amenable to his authority!

At length the two ships anchored in the road of Brest, on the 8th of May; on which very day, Paul Jones put Lieutenant Simpson under suspension and arrest for disobedience of orders, and wrote the following letter to the Countess of Selkirk:—

"Ranger, Brest, 8th May, 1778.

MADAM,

It cannot be too much lamented, that, in the profession of arms, the officer of fine feelings

and real sensibility should be under the necessity of winking at any action of persons under his command, which his heart cannot approve; but the reflection is doubly severe, when he finds himself obliged, in appearance, to countenance such acts by his authority.

"This hard case was mine, when, on the 23d of April last, I landed on St. Mary's Isle. Knowing Lord Selkirk's interest with the King, and esteeming as I do his private character, I wished to make him the happy instrument of alleviating the horrors of hopeless captivity, when the brave are overpowered and made prisoners of war.

"It was, perhaps, fortunate for you, madam, that he was from home; for it was my intention to have taken him on board the Ranger, and to have detained him, until, through his means, a general and fair exchange of prisoners, as well in Europe as in America, had been effected. When I was informed by some men whom I met at landing, that his lordship was absent, I walked back to my boat, determined to leave the island. By the way, however, some officers, who were with me, could not forbear expressing their discontent,

observing that, in America, no delicacy was shown by the English, who took away all sorts of moveable property; setting fire, not only to towns, and to the houses of the rich, without distinction, but not even sparing the wretched hamlets and milch cows of the poor and helpless, at the approach of an inclement winter. That party had been with me, the same morning, at Whitehaven; some complaisance, therefore, was their due. I had but a moment to think how I might gratify them, and at the same time do your ladyship the least injury. I charged the two officers to permit none of the seamen to enter the house, or to hurt anything about it; to treat you, madam, with the utmost respect; to accept of the plate which was offered, and to come away without making a search, or demanding anything else.

"I am induced to believe that I was punctually obeyed, since I am informed that the plate which they brought away is far short of the quantity expressed in the inventory which accompanied it. I have gratified my men; and, when the plate is sold, I shall become the purchaser, and will gratify

my own feelings by restoring it to you, by such conveyance as you shall please to direct.

"Had the earl been on board the Ranger the following evening, he would have seen the awful pomp and dreadful carnage of a sea engagement; both affording ample subject for the pencil, as well as melancholy reflection for the contemplative mind. Humanity starts back from such scenes of horror, and cannot sufficiently execrate the vile promoters of this detestable war—

'For *they*, 'twas *they*, unsheathed the ruthless blade,
And heaven shall ask the havoc it has made.'

"The British ship of war Drake, mounting twenty guns, with more than her full complement of officers and men, was our opponent. The ships met, and the advantage was disputed with great fortitude on each side, for an hour and four minutes, when the gallant commander of the Drake fell, and victory declared in favour of the Ranger. The amiable lieutenant lay mortally wounded, besides near forty of the inferior officers and crew, killed and wounded; a melancholy demonstration of the uncertainty of human prospects, and of the

sad reverse of fortune which an hour can produce. I buried them in a spacious grave, with the honours due to the memory of the brave.

"Though I have drawn my sword in the present generous struggle for the rights of men, yet I am not in arms as an American, nor am I in pursuit of riches. My fortune is liberal enough, having no wife nor family, and having lived long enough to know that riches cannot ensure happiness. I profess myself a citizen of the world, totally unfettered by the little, mean distinctions of climate or of country, which diminish the benevolence of the heart and set bounds to philanthropy. Before this war began, I had at the early time of life withdrawn from the sea service, in favour of 'calm contemplation and poetic ease.' I have sacrificed not only my favourite scheme of life, but the softer affections of the heart and my prospects of domestic happiness, and I am ready to sacrifice my life also with cheerfulness, if that forfeiture could restore peace and good will among mankind.

"As the feelings of your gentle bosom cannot but be congenial with mine, let me entreat you,

madam, to use your persuasive art with your husband's to endeavour to stop this cruel and destructive war, in which Britain can never succeed. Heaven can never countenance the barbarous and unmanly practice of the Britons in America, which savages would blush at, and which, if not discontinued, will soon be retaliated on Britain by a justly enraged people. Should you fail in this, (for I am persuaded that you will attempt it: and who can resist the power of such an advocate?) your endeavours to effect a general exchange of prisoners will be an act of humanity, which will afford you golden feelings on a death-bed.

"I hope this cruel contest will soon be closed; but should it continue, I wage no war with the fair. I acknowledge their force, and bend before it with submission. Let not, therefore, the amiable Countess of Selkirk regard me as an enemy; I am ambitious of her esteem and friendship, and would do any thing, consistent with my duty, to merit it.

"The honour of a line from your hand, in answer to this, will lay me under a singular obligation;

and if I can render you any acceptable service in France or elsewhere, I hope you see into my character so far as to command me without the least grain of reserve.

"I wish to know exactly the behaviour of my people, as I am determined to punish them if they have exceeded their liberty. I have the honour to be, with much esteem and with profound respect, Madam, &c. &c.

JOHN PAUL JONES.

To the COUNTESS OF SELKIRK."

Jones did not receive any answer to this letter for some months, when the following letter from Dr. Franklin explained the reason of the silence of the Scottish peer. The good doctor seems somewhat amused at the romantic gallantry of his friend.

"Passy, Feb. 24th, 1779.

DEAR CAPTAIN,

Mr. Alexander called here this morning to deliver a little message, to be communicated to you, from Lord Selkirk. The purport was, that his lordship had written an answer to your letter,

which answer, after having been detained many months in the Post Office, had been sent back to him; that, as to the proposition of returning the plate, if it was made by order of Congress or any public body, he would accept of it, and endeavour to make suitable returns for the favour; but if by a private person's generosity, the Captain's for instance, he could by no means receive it. You will now judge whether it is worth while to give yourself any further trouble about that matter.

I am, your's,

B. FRANKLIN."

On the 1st of March, 1780, Jones wrote again to Lady Selkirk:

"L'Orient, March 1st, 1780.

MADAM,

It is now ten or eleven months since His Excellency B. Franklin, Esq., Minister Plenipotentiary for the United States of America at the court of France, communicated to me a message from the earl your husband, in a letter to his friend Mr. Alexander at Paris, in substance as

follows: "That he, the Earl of Selkirk, had written an answer to the letter that I had the honour to write to your ladyship in May, 1778, from Brest, respecting your plate; which answer, after being detained for several months at London, in the General Post-Office, had been returned to Scotland. He therefore wished Mr. Alexander to inform the concerned, that if the plate was to be restored by Congress or any public body, it would be accepted; but if through the generosity of an individual, his delicacy would scruple to receive it.

"The true reason why I have not written to you since I received the above information has been because the plate has but now come into my possession from the public agents, and I have besides been for the greatest part of the time absent from this kingdom.

"I have now the satisfaction to inform you, that Congress has relinquished their real or supposed interest in the plate, and, for my own part, I scorn to add to my fortune by such an acquisition. As for the part claimed by the few men who landed with

me on St. Mary's Isle, it is of little consequence, and they are already satisfied. Thus you see, madam, that the earl's objection is removed.

"The plate is lodged here in the hands of Messrs. Gourlade and Moylan, who hold it at your disposal, and will forward it agreeably to your orders by land or by water to Holland, Ostend, or any other port you may think proper.

"I shall be happy by my conduct through life to merit the good opinion of the Earl and Countess of Selkirk, for I am, with great esteem and profound respect, madam,

Your most obedient
And humble servant,
JOHN PAUL JONES.

The Right Hon. COUNTESS OF SELKIRK,
&c. &c. &c."

CHAPTER III.

The American commissioners—Jones's distress—His exertions—Secret undertakings—Incessant disappointments—His appeal to the minister—His letter to the king.

So highly did the American commissioners appreciate the descent upon Whitehaven that they recommended the men who landed with Jones to the especial favour of Congress. Their commander also was not backward in his exertions in their favour, and he immediately suggested to the Marine Committee "the propriety of rewarding the brave men who had been concerned in a service unprecedented in latter wars."

But while the alacrity with which this recommendation was made by the American commissioners must assuredly have been gratifying to the heart of Jones—the conqueror of the Drake, the terror of the coasts of England, found himself, on his arrival at Brest, in a condition not very enviable. "Could I suppose," he says, in writing

to the commissioners, "could I suppose that my letters of the 9th and 16th current (the first advising you of my arrival, and giving reference to the events of my expedition—the last advising you of my draft in favour of M. Bersolle for 24,000 livres, and assigning reasons for that demand) had not made due appearance, I would hereafter, as I do now, inclose copies. Three posts have already arrived from Paris since Count D'Orvilliers shewed me the answer which he received from the minister to the letter which inclosed mine to you: yet you remain silent.

"M. Bersolle has this moment informed me of the fate of my bills, the more extraordinary, as I have not yet made use of your letter of credit of the 20th January last; whereby I then seemed entitled to call for half the amount of my last draft, and I did not expect to be thought extravagant when, on the 16th current, I doubled that demand. Could this indignity be kept secret, I should disregard it; and, though it is already public in Brest and in the fleet, as it affects only my private credit, I will not complain: I cannot, however,

be silent, when I find the public credit involved in the same disgrace. I conceive this might have been prevented. To make me completely wretched, M. de Bersolle has told me, that he now stops his hand, not only of the necessary articles to refit the ship, but also *of the daily provisions.* I know not where to find to-morrow's dinner for the great number of mouths that depend on me for food. Are the continental ships of war to depend on the sale of their prizes for a daily dinner for their men? 'Publish it not in Gath!'

"My officers, as well as men, want clothes; and the prizes are precluded from being sold before further advices arrive from the minister: I ask you, gentlemen, if I have deserved all this?"

But alas! the commissioners were without authority and without funds! They promised, they apologized, they even exceeded their instructions; but little was done, and every thing was left to the unfortunate commander.

From all these difficulties he managed to extricate himself. "I was left," he says, in a letter to

Mr. Lee, "with 200 prisoners of war, a number of sick and wounded, and almost naked crew, and a ship after a severe engagement, in want of stores and provisions, from the 9th May to the 13th June, destitute of any public support. Yet I found means to cure the wounded, feed my people, refit my ship, and guard my prisoners. The dishonour that had been done me was known throughout the French fleet, and elsewhere; yet, though I was the first that had obtained from France the honours due to the American flag, I made no public complaints, and only expressed my concern, by a letter to the commissioners, at the disgraceful wound which the public credit had received."

Fortune was not an object that Paul Jones ever aimed at; his character, in pecuniary affairs, was like that of most sailors, and his property was always ready to carry into execution any favourite project, whether for the nation, or for his own private interest.

"I hope," says he, in another letter to the commissioners, "that you do not mean to impute

to me a desire to receive presents of the public money, or even to touch a dollar of it for my own private use. On the contrary, I need not now assert, that I stepped forth from the beginning from nobler motives. My accounts, before I left America, testify, that I am more than £1500 in advance for the public service, exclusive of any concern with the sloop of war Ranger; and as for *wages*, I have never received any."

When Jones left the United States for France, he was promised eventually the command of a frigate of the first class, which had been built for the United States in Holland. The building of this vessel was discovered by the English, and it was finally taken by the French monarch into his navy. Jones was, therefore, disappointed in not taking the command of an American frigate. At the particular request of the French king, and with the approbation of Congress, he still remained in France; but this state of inactivity and suspense ill suited his ardent temperament. His ambition was of the most intense description. He seemed to have no other though tin life than

obtaining the world's applause and admiration. He was actually terrified if he appeared to be neglected or not sufficiently valued. As his drafts had been dishonoured, and he was without employment, he was constantly afraid "that he should be looked upon as an officer in disgrace."

He was employed, during the month of June, 1778, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin, in forming schemes for the destruction of the "common enemy of France and America."

France had not yet formally declared war against Great Britain, although the fleets of the two nations were in active service, and engagements had even taken place. War was, however, declared on the beginning of the following July. A frequent correspondence passed between Franklin and Jones during the month of June. "I am now ready to go," said the commander, "wherever the service calls me. If two or three fast sailing ships could be collected, there is a great choice of private enterprizes; some of which might succeed, and add more to the inte-

rest and honour of America than crûizing with twice the force. It appears to me to be the province of our infant navy to surprize and spread alarms with fast sailing ships. When we grow stronger, we can meet their fleets, and dispute with them the sovereignty of the ocean."

This *great choice of private adventures* was verily "sweet to cull from." Three fast sailing frigates, with one or two tenders, were to enter the Irish channel, and effectually do for Whitehaven. This was to render it difficult, if not impossible, to supply Ireland with coal the ensuing winter; the same force was also considered sufficient to take the Bank of Ayr in Scotland, and destroy the town, and perhaps the whole shipping in the Clyde; and, if well arranged, the town also of Greenock, and Port Glasgow. The fishery at Cambletown was thought also "an object worthy attention." In some parts of Ireland, it was expected ships might be found worth £150,000 to £200,000 each. Britain was, also, to be alarmed on the eastern side. An inferior force was to provide for the objects of this expedition, which

were to be the destruction of the coal shipping of Newcastle, and thereby the occasioning the utmost distress for fuel in London. Many towns of consequence were noted on the east and north coasts of England and Scotland, which were defenceless, and might be either burnt or laid under contribution. "The success of either of these or the like enterprize," says Jones, in a letter to Mons. de Sartine, the French minister of marine, "will depend in surprizing well, and on dispatch both in the attack and in the retreat; therefore, it is necessary the ships should sail fast, and that their forces should be sufficient to repel any of the enemy's cruizing frigates, two of which may perhaps be met at a time. It is scarcely conceivable how great a panic the success of any one of these projects would occasion in England. It would convince the world, that their coasts are vulnerable, and would, consequently, hurt their public credit.

"If alarming the coast of Britain should be thought inexpedient, to intercept the enemy's West India or Baltic fleets, or their Hudson Bay

ships, or to destroy their Greenland fishery, are capital objects."

It was agreed that three frigates and two tenders should be immediately put under Jones's command, with unlimited orders. He was now busy in arranging for his expedition. He was in great want of a chaplain, and thus writes to a friend upon the subject: "I should wish him to be a man of reading and of letters, who understands, speaks and writes the French and English with elegance and propriety; for political reasons it would be well if he were a clergyman of the Protestant profession, whose sanctity of manners and happy natural principles would diffuse unanimity and cheerfulness through the ship; and, if to these essentials were added the talent of writing fast and in fair characters, such a man would necessarily be worthy the highest confidence, and might therefore assure himself of my esteem and friendship; he should always have a place at my table, the regulation whereof should be entirely under his direction."

About this time he also wrote the following letter to General Washington:

"Passy, August 6th, 1778.

HONOURED SIR,

As the scene of war by sea is now changed from America to Europe, I have been induced to give up the command of the American ship of war the Ranger, and to continue for some time in Europe, in compliance with the request of the minister of the French marine, contained in a letter to our minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles. I will not intrude upon your Excellency's time even by attempting to pay you the respect which you so justly command. The intention of this letter is only to beg your acceptance of *two epaulettes* with which it is accompanied, and which my friend Mr. Williams, of Nantz, has undertaken to forward.

"I expected to have had the honour of delivering this little present into your own hands, but not having that satisfaction, if I can render you any acceptable services in France I hope you will

command me without reserve, being, with sentiments of perfect esteem,

Honoured sir,

Yours,

J. PAUL JONES.

His Excellency GENERAL WASHINGTON,
&c. &c."

The frigates, however, were not forthcoming, and an inferior armament at L'Orient was offered to the American leader. To L'Orient Jones immediately repaired; but on his arrival he found that the command of this inferior armament was already entrusted to another officer. Disgusted with these proceedings, he requested permission to embark as a volunteer on board the French fleet, but this was refused.

The Prince of Nassau had volunteered to accompany Jones in his first intended expedition. The prince forgot his promise: Jones wrote to him in despair. He reminded him of the brilliant prospects which he (Jones) had resigned in America for the sake of commanding the combined squadron in Europe, and of serving with the

prince. "When your intentions were communicated to me, I had under my command a ship bound, in company with two fine frigates, for America, where there are now two new ships of eighty guns each, and eight frigates of forty guns each, nearly ready for sea. On my arrival there, from the former confidence of Congress, I had assurance of an immediate removal into one of their best ships, and to have been appointed to command the first squadron which they thought fit to destine for any private expedition. Before I came to Europe, Congress honoured me with several such appointments, and I had assurance that, when admirals were appointed, my name would be remembered. These, my prince, were flattering prospects to a man who drew his sword only from principles of philanthropy, and in support of the dignity of human nature: yet these are the prospects I have voluntarily laid aside that I might pursue glory in your company. Suffer me not therefore, I beseech you, to continue longer in this shameful inactivity. Such dishonour is worse to me than a thousand deaths."

Jones was determined not to be daunted. He had reason to believe that the court was decidedly in his favour, but that the jealousy of the French officers prevented them from availing themselves of his talents as they wished. This wish, indeed, was the cause of their refusal to allow him to act as a volunteer on board the fleet. Jones panted for action. *His desire for fame,* to quote his own words, *was infinite.* He followed up his letter to the Prince of Orange by an energetic appeal to the minister De Sartine.

"When his Excellency Dr. Franklin first informed me that you had condescended to think me worthy your notice, I took such pleasure in reflecting on the happy alliance between France and America that I was really flattered, and entertained a grateful sense of the honour which you proposed for me, as well as the favour which the king proposed for America, by putting so fine a ship of war as the Indian under my command, and under its flag, with unlimited orders. In obedience to your orders I came to Versailles, and was taught to believe, that my intended ship was in

deep water and ready for sea. But when the prince returned I received from him a different account, that the Indian could not be got afloat under three months. To employ this interval usefully, I offered to accompany Comte D'Orvilliers as a volunteer, which you thought fit to reject. I had then the satisfaction to find, that you approved in general of a variety of hints for private enterprizes which I had given for your consideration, and was flattered with assurances from M. Le Ray de Chaumont and Bodwain, that three of the finest frigates in France, with two tenders, and a number of troops, should be immediately put under my command, and I should be at liberty to pursue such of my projects as I thought proper. But this fell to nothing in the moment when I thought that nothing was wanting but the king's signature. Another inferior armament from L'Orient was proposed to be put under my command, which was by no means equal to the services that were expected from it; for speed and force, both requisite, were wanting. Happily for me, this also failed; and I was saved

from a dreadful prospect of ruin and dishonour. I had so entire a reliance that you would require nothing of me inconsistent with my rank and honour, that the moment you commanded I came down with such haste, that although my curiosity led me to look at the armament at L'Orient, yet I was but three days from Passy till I reached Brest; here, too, I drew a blank. But when I saw the Lively, it was no disappointment, as that ship, in sailing and equipment, is far inferior to the Ranger. My only disappointment here is being precluded embarking with Count D'Orvilliers in pursuit of marine knowledge. I am not a mere adventurer of fortune. Stimulated by reason and philanthropy, I laid aside the enjoyment of private life, and embarked under the flag of America when it was first displayed. In this line my desire of fame is infinite, and I must not so far forget my own honour, and what I owe to my friends and to America, as to remain inactive. My rank knows no superior in the American marine: I have long since been appointed to command an expedition with five of its ships, and

I can receive orders from no junior or inferior officer whatever. I have been here in the most tormenting suspense for more than a month since my return, and agreeable to your desire, as mentioned to me by M. Roy de Chaumont. A lieutenant has been appointed, and is with me, who speaks French as well as English. Circular letters were sent last month from the English admiralty, because they expected me to pay another visit with four ships; therefore, I trust, that if the Indian is not to be got out, you will not substitute a force unequal in strength and sailing to the enemy's cruizing ships. I do not wish to interfere with the harmony of the French marine; but if I am still thought worthy your attention, I shall hope for a separate command, with liberal orders; if, on the contrary, you have no farther occasion for my services, I have then only to ask the Alert and a few seamen, with permission to return in that small vessel to America before winter."

"I should not have mentioned my rank," said Jones to Franklin, "had it not been hinted that it

was proposed to send me from St. Maloes under the command of French lieutenants."

As the conduct of the minister was not satisfactory, Jones determined to write to the king himself. "It cannot, I think, do harm," he writes to Franklin; "my situation destroys my peace of mind; I have been, and am in the eyes of Brest and the French marine, considered as having incurred your displeasure, and being, consequently, in disgrace.

"The Duchesse de Chartres will, I am persuaded, undertake to deliver my letter into the king's hands; and as you may not yet think fit to appear in the business, either the Duc de Rochefoucault, or your grandson, will oblige me by waiting on her at the Palais Royal. The Duc de Rochefoucault, as he understands English well, and is acquainted with the circumstances, would oblige me much if he would be present when the letter is presented to the king. I do not wish to trouble the Duc de Chartres about this affair, as that brave prince has undeservedly met with vexations of his own."

The Duchess accordingly delivered the following letter:

His Most Christian Majesty, Louis,
King of France and Navarre.

" Brest, October 19th, 1778.

SIRE,

After my return to Brest in the American ship of war the Ranger, from the Irish channel, his excellency Dr. Franklin informed me by letter, dated June the 1st, that M. de Sartine, having a good opinion of my conduct and bravery, had determined, with your majesty's consent and approbation, to give me the command of the ship of war the Indian, which was built at Amsterdam for America, but afterwards, for political reasons, made the property of France.

" I was to act with unlimited orders under the commission and flag of America; and the Prince de Nassau proposed to accompany me on the ocean.

" I was deeply penetrated with the sense of

the honour done me by the proposition, as well as of the favour your majesty intended thereby to confer on America. And I accepted the offer with the greater pleasure, as the Congress had sent me to Europe in the Ranger to command the Indian before the ownership of that vessel was changed.

"The minister desired to see me at Versailles to settle future plans of operation, and I attended him for that purpose. I was told that the Indian was at the Texel completely armed and fitted for sea; but the Prince de Nassau was sent express to Holland, and returned with a very different account. The ship was at Amsterdam, and could not be got afloat or armed before the September equinox. The American plenipotentiaries proposed that I should return to America; and as I have repeatedly been appointed to the chief command of an American squadron to execute secret enterprizes, it was not doubted but that Congress would again shew me a preference. M. de Sartine, however, thought proper to prevent my departure, by writing to the plenipotentiaries, (with-

out my knowledge,) requesting that I might be permitted to remain in Europe, and that the Ranger might be sent back to America under another commander, he having special services which he wished me to execute. This request they readily granted, and I was flattered by the prospect of being enabled to testify by my services my gratitude to your majesty, as the first prince who has so generously acknowledged our independence.

"There was an interval of more than three months before the Indian could be gotten afloat. To employ that period usefully, when your majesty's fleet was ordered to sail from Brest, I proposed to the minister to embark in it as a volunteer, in pursuit of marine knowledge. He objected to this, at the same time approved of a variety of hints for private enterprizes, which I had drawn up for his consideration. Two gentlemen were appointed to settle with me the plans that were to be adopted, who gave me the assurance that three of the best frigates in France, with two tenders, and a number of troops, should be immediately put under my command, to pursue

such of my own projects as I thought proper; but this fell to nothing, when I believed that your majesty's signature only was wanting.

"Another armament, composed of cutters and small vessels at L'Orient, was proposed to be put under my command, to alarm the coasts of England and check the Jersey privateers; but, happily for me, this also failed, and I was saved from ruin and dishonour; as I now find that all the vessels sailed slow, and their united force is very insignificant. The minister then thought fit that I should return to Brest to command the Lively, and join some frigates on an expedition from St. Malo to the North Sea. I returned in haste for that purpose, and found that the Lively had been bestowed at Brest before the minister had mentioned that ship to me at Versailles. This was, however, another fortunate disappointment, as the Lively proves, both in sailing and equipment, much inferior to the Ranger. But, more especially, if it be true, as I have since understood, that the minister intended to give the chief command of the expedition to a lieutenant, which would

have occasioned a very disagreeable misunderstanding: for, as an officer of the first rank in the American marine, who has been ever honoured with the favour and friendship of Congress, I can receive orders from no inferior officer whatever. My plan was the destruction of the English Baltic fleet, of great consequence to the enemy's marine, and then only protected by a single frigate! I would have held myself responsible for its success had I commanded the expedition.

"M. de Sartine afterwards sent orders to Count D'Orvilliers to receive me on board the fleet, agreeably to my former proposal, but the order did not arrive until after the departure of the fleet the last time from Brest, nor was I made acquainted with the circumstance before the fleet returned here.

"Thus have I been chained down to shameful inactivity for nearly five months. I have lost the best season of the year and such opportunities of serving my country and acquiring honour as I cannot again expect this war; and, to my infinite mortification, having no command, I am consi-

dered every where an officer cast off and in disgrace for secret reasons.

"I have written respectful letters to the minister, neither of which has he condescended to answer; I have written to the Prince de Nassau with as little effect; and I do not understand, that any apology has been made to the great and venerable Dr. Franklin, whom the minister has made the instrument of bringing me into such unmerited trouble.

"Having written to Congress to reserve no command for me in America, my sensibility is the more affected by this unworthy situation in the sight of your majesty's fleet. I however make no remark on the treatment I have received.

"Although I wish not to become my own panegyrist, I must beg your majesty's permission to observe, that I am not an adventurer in search of fortune, of which, thank God, I have a sufficiency.

"When the American banner was first displayed, I drew my sword in support of the violated dignity and rights of human nature, and both honour and duty prompt me steadfastly to

continue the righteous pursuit; and to sacrifice to it, not only my private enjoyments, but even life, if necessary. I must acknowledge that the generous praise which I have received from Congress, and others, exceeds the merit of my past services, therefore I the more ardently wish for future opportunities of testifying my gratitude, by my activity.

"As your majesty, by espousing the cause of America, hath become the protector of the rights of human nature, I am persuaded that you will not disregard my situation, nor suffer me to remain any longer in this insupportable disgrace.

I am, with perfect gratitude
and profound respect,
Sire,
Your majesty's very obliged,
very obedient, and
very humble servant,
J. PAUL JONES."

CHAPTER IV.

The effect of Jones's letter—Appointed to the Duras—A new expedition formed—The grand invasion—Jones appointed to the command of a squadron—Captain Landais—The cruise—Jones attempts Leith—The Baltic fleet—The engagement with the Serapis.

THE admirable appeal of Paul Jones to the French monarch produced an instantaneous effect. He himself, after the event, was astounded at his own energy. He writes to his friend, Mr. Morris, "it will appear romance that I have succeeded."

It was determined that something should be done for Jones immediately, in spite of the French officers, who were "stung to the soul," and could not look upon him "but with rivals' eyes. Their cabals are so high and dangerous, that the minister really cannot, and dare not, do what he wishes."

Early in the year Jones was appointed to the Duras, of 40 guns, with unlimited orders. He wrote to M. de Sartino, and requested permission

to change the name of his ship to Bon Homme Richard, "as a pleasing opportunity of paying a well-merited compliment to a great and good man, to whom I am under obligations, and who honours me with his friendship."*

The request was granted; and Jones was also informed, that it was the intention of government to strengthen his naval force, and to embark in it a body of troops under the command of General La Fayette. "Though this command is not equal to my military rank," writes that officer to Jones, "yet the love of the common cause made me very happy to take it, and this motive is the only one which conducts all my private and public actions."

La Fayette was Jones's friend, and he was particularly pleased with the arrangement. The intended squadron was to consist of the Bon Homme Richard, the Pallas, carrying thirty-two 8-pounders, and the Vengeance brig of twelve 3-pounders. A new American frigate, called the Alliance, was also promised. About 700 military

* The title of the ship referred to "Poor Richard's Almanack," published by Dr. Franklin.

were to accompany him. The commander of the Alliance was one Landais. La Fayette did not approve of him, and advised Jones not to let the Alliance carry any of the military, "as there were sure to be disputes between Landais and the officers." How often must Jones have remembered the caution of the Marquess!

At the end of April Franklin sent "the instructions" for the expedition to Jones. The venerable plenipotentiary enlarged particularly upon the liberation of the American prisoners. He admonishes Jones "to complete the good work you have already made such progress in, of delivering, by an exchange, the rest of your countrymen now languishing in the gaols of Great Britain."

The instructions are mercifully and moderately penned; "but," said Franklin of these very instructions, at a later period, in a letter to Mr. Lovell, "the late proceedings at Fairfield and other towns, added to the preceding, have at length demolished all my moderation, and were such another expedition to be concerted, I think so much of that disposition would not appear."

"Your letter, honoured and dear sir," wrote Jones, "with your liberal and noble-minded instructions, would make *a coward brave!* You have called up every sentiment of public virtue in my breast, and it shall be my pride and ambition, in the strict pursuit of your instructions, to deserve success."

The great object of this expedition was the sudden landing near all important towns of Great Britain that were within a reasonable march, and putting them to high ransoms under the threat of burning them. But the object of this expedition was destined to be changed. While Jones was fretting himself at L'Orient about getting cannon, in which he was very unsuccessful, he received a letter from La Fayette—"our plan has been quite altered; instead of meeting you, I am to take the command of the king's regiment. What will be further determined about your squadron is yet uncertain, and the ministers are to consult about it with Dr. Franklin. *Political and military reasons have occasioned this alteration of things.*"

This sudden alteration of affairs was occasioned

by a plan more popular than practical with the illustrious house of Bourbon—*the general invasion of England.* The successful descents of Jones upon the coast with a petty force and unwilling coadjutors, induced them to believe that an organized and general invasion had a great chance of being successful. Such schemes had, previous to the American revolution, generally ended in the building of a few gun-boats, and a little bustle at Toulon. On this occasion it seems, however, to have been seriously adopted, and La Fayette was desired to remain in France in consequence of this resolution. Dr. Franklin, in a confidential letter to Mr. Lovell, calls it the "grand invasion."

It was, however, agreed that Jones should immediately sail with a squadron; and on the 19th of April, 1779, the American squadron, Bon Homme Richard, 42 guns,—Alliance, 36 guns,—Pallas, 30 guns,—Cerf, 18 guns, and the Vengeance, 12 guns, sailed from L'Orient, under the command of the Honourable Commodore John Paul Jones.

Three months were passed in a cruize, which

does not appear to have been very successful. Jones found the Bon Homme Richard, as he had expected, a bad sailer: her timbers were so ancient, that it was deemed impossible to make some alterations which were considered necessary in consequence of the injury sustained by the Alliance running foul of her in the night, in a manner which appeared to Jones very suspicious.

At the beginning of August, Jones was again at sea. His object was to make a strong diversion in favour of the grand combined fleets of France and Spain of sixty-six vessels of the line, under the command of Count D'Orvilliers, which had already appeared in the channel between France and England, bearing a French army, which, under protection of the fleet, it was intended should make a descent on the southern coast of England. Before the 21st two merchantmen were sent to L'Orient as prizes by the squadron. Before the end of August Captain Landais had ceased to respect any signals, and shortly afterwards assumed to act as an independent commander. In the beginning of October the Alliance parted company. The commodore, having taken two

prizes, both from the Firth of Edinburgh, he was informed by them that a king's ship and two or three cutters were lying at anchor in Leith Road "in a state of perfect indolence and security." Jones immediately determined to surprize them, and put Leith itself to ransom. Unfortunately, the Pallas and the Vengeance, the only ships with him, (the Cerf had been dispatched to a particular rendezvous,) were both at a considerable distance. Some time was therefore lost before a council could be held, and no little more in persuading the French captains to co-operate. The prospect of obtaining £200,000, and Jones's assurance that there was no battery of cannon to oppose them, at length persuaded the French commanders to undertake the venture. "So much time, however," says Jones, "was lost in pointed remarks and sage deliberations, that the wind became contrary in the morning."

This was an adventure which Jones constantly had remarked could not fail of success. At the present moment, in spite of the delay, he was equally sanguine. The squadron continued, there-

fore, working to windward up the Firth, without being able to reach the road of Leith till on the morning of the 17th of September, when being almost within cannon shot of the town, and having every thing in readiness for a descent, a violent storm suddenly arose, and the severe gale being directly contrary, obliged them to bear away. One of the prizes sunk. The alarm had now reached Leith, and as there was a large body of troops at Edinburgh the project was obliged to be given up.

The following day the squadron took three prizes, and the commodore proposed another project of greater importance to the commander of the Pallas. This was, however, more "honourable than profitable," and the officer demurred. The French captains seem indeed to have been utterly unfit for the service to which they were deputed. Jones's art of naval war was one indeed to which the eighteenth century was rather unaccustomed. Paul Jones should have been the companion of Nelson.

The captain of the Pallas returned to his ship

in despair. He had no conception, he said, of war being carried on near a coast, where the enemy might always find you with a superior force. The condition of the squadron he declared to be perilous; he proposed that they should return contented with their prizes; and he informed M. de Chamillard, in confidence, that unless the commodore joined the next day, both the Pallas and the Vengeance would leave the coast. Jones had nearly determined to try the enterprize alone. "I am persuaded, even now," he said, in his statement to Franklin, "that I would have succeeded; and, to the honour of my young officers, I found them as ardently disposed to the business as I could desire. Nothing prevented me from pursuing my design but the reproach that would have been cast upon my character, as a *man of prudence*, had the enterprize miscarried; it would have been said, 'was he not forewarned by Captain Cottineau?'"

There was now every prospect of the American squadron returning to France from an inglorious, though not unprofitable cruize. Jones, however,

still hoped that some great action might be effected for the "common cause." The capture of the rich argosie was not the object that haunted the imagination of the American captain. The admiration of France, the applause of America, the respect of England, were the darling subjects of the meditations of this man, whom we have been too long taught to believe to have been but a successful plunderer. "My desire," said Jones, "is to establish my honour and reputation in the page of history."

With feelings of bitter mortification, on the the 21st of September Jones thought of returning to France with his diminished and inefficient squadron. It was, while agitated with these reflections that, at day-break on the 22d, while off Flamborough Head, he "perceived a fleet steering towards him from the Spurn." Jones imagined them to be a convoy bound from London to Leith, which he had long expected. One of them had a pendant hoisted, and appeared to be a ship of force. The fleet, however, retreated, and the vessel, which apparently was war-armed, kept to

windward very near the land, and on the edge of dangerous shoals. This circumstance induced Jones to make a signal for a pilot. The pilot imagined the Bon Homme to be an English ship of war. They informed the commodore that the ship which wore a pendant was an armed merchantman, and that a king's frigate lay then in sight at anchor within the Humber, waiting to take under convoy a fleet of merchantmen to the north. The pilot boat, labouring under the error we have mentioned, also communicated the private signal of the convoy.

Jones endeavoured to decoy the ships out of port by using the signal, but the tide being unfavourable for them they prudently disregarded it.

The entrance of the Humber is exceedingly difficult and dangerous, and as the Pallas was not in sight, Jones thought it imprudent to remain off the entrance. He therefore stood off again to Flamborough Head, where he expected to join the Pallas. In the night he chased two ships until three o'clock of the morning, when being at a very short distance, he made the private signal

of the American fleet. It was not answered. At day-break the ships proved to be the Pallas and the Alliance! Such were the discipline and temper of the squadron with which Paul Jones intended to attack the English convoy under the walls of an English castle!

Jones was not unmindful of the infamous conduct of Landais; but, though of an impetuous and ardent temperament, he would on no account proceed to extremities with the French captains. The situation of America was so delicate, and she was under such obligations to the French nation, that her officer felt it a duty to endure conduct from its marine which little suited his notions of discipline. "If we quarrel, what will our enemies say?" was his frequent exclamation and his constant thought.

On the morning of the 23d a fleet of forty-one sail appeared off Flamborough Head, bearing N.N.E. Jones now called back a pilot boat which he had manned, under the command of a lieutenant, in pursuit of a brigantine, and hoisted the signal for a general chase. When the fleet

discovered the American squadron bearing down, all the merchant ships crowded sail towards the shore. The two ships of war that protected the fleet immediately steered from the land, and made disposition for battle. These ships were the Serapis and the Countess of Scarborough. Jones now crowded every possible sail, and made the signal for the line of battle, to which the Alliance shewed no attention. With all possible exertion Jones could not reach the English commodore's ship until seven in the evening.

And now commenced an engagement, the parallel of which is not to be found in the naval annals of any nation.

The Serapis, 44 guns, was one of the finest frigates in his Majesty's navy, and had been off the stocks only a few months. Her crew were picked men, and she was commanded by Captain Richard Pearson, an officer celebrated even in the British navy for his undaunted courage and exemplary conduct. The Bon Homme Richard was an old ship with decayed timbers, and had made four voyages to the East Indies. Many of

her guns were useless, and all were ancient.—Her crew consisted partly of Americans, partly of French, partly of English, and partly of Maltese, Portugueze and Malays; and this crew was weak also in numbers, for two boats' crews had been lost on the coast of Ireland; and to add to accumulated misfortunes, Jones's first lieutenant and eighteen men in the pilot boat did not join the Bon Homme Richard in time for battle.

Before the engagement commenced, there was not a man in the Bon Homme Richard who was ignorant of the superiority of the Serapis, both in metal and in men. The Portugueze and the other foreigners could speak neither French nor English, and, chattering in their native tongues, without ceasing, added not a little to the difficulties which presented themselves. The American commander had nothing to trust to but his own undaunted courage and extraordinary skill.

The position of the Bon Homme being to windward of the Serapis, the Bon Homme passed a-head of her, and the Serapis came up on the larboard quarter of the American.

The action commenced abreast of each other, and the broadsides were almost simultaneous. The Serapis, however, passed a-head of the Bon Homme with the intention of gaining distance sufficient to rake, but this manœuvre failed, from want of distance; and to avoid being boarded by the Bon Homme, Captain Pearson sent his helm a-lee. This movement brought the two ships in a line, and the Bon Homme ran her bows into the stern of the Serapis. The English now hailed the Bon Homme, to know whether they had struck. Jones himself answered, "that he had not yet begun to fight." But the truth was, that the broadsides of the Serapis had already produced an effect. The Bon Homme, before eight o'clock, had received several eighteen-pounders under water, and leaked very much. Jones received no assistance from his squadron: the Pallas was engaged with the Countess of Scarborough, the Vengeance held off at a distance, and the Alliance declined interfering altogether. The position in which the two contending

frigates were now placed was most favourable to Jones, for not a gun could take effect on either side, and he thus gained some moments for consideration, which the American commander stood much in need of. Besides her superior force, he had already perceived, that the English was the much more manageable ship of the two. The Bon Homme now backed her top-sails, and those of the Serapis being filled, the ships separated. The bowsprit of the Serapis now came over the Bon Homme's poop by the mizen mast. Jones darted like a cat upon his prey and immediately grappled. The action of the wind on the enemy's sails forced her stern close to the Bon Homme's bow, "so that the ships lay square alongside of each other, the yards being all entangled, and the cannon of each ship touching the opponent's side." This was a bold way of saving a sinking ship and preventing the effect of eighteen pounders under water!

"The battle," to use Jones's own words, was fought with *unremitting fury*." The rammers were run into the respective ships to enable the

men to load. The Serapis now fought with the actual view of sinking the enemy, and her broadsides were incessant. The battery of twelve pounders, on which Jones had placed his chief dependance, which was commanded by his only lieutenant, and manned by Americans, was entirely silenced and abandoned; of the six old eighteen pounders that formed the battery of the lower gun deck, most burst, and killed almost all the men who were stationed to manage them. At the same time, Colonel Chamillard, who commanded a party of twenty French volunteers on the poop, abandoned his station, after having lost nearly all his band. There were only two nine pounders on the quarter deck, that were not silenced. The purser, who commanded the party that worked these guns, was shot through the head; and Jones, in this critical moment, when he almost required the faculty of ubiquity, was obliged to fill the purser's place. With great difficulty he rallied a few men, and shifted over one of the lee quarter deck guns; these three nine pounders played well, but not one

of the heavier cannon of the Bon Homme was fired during the rest of the action.

During this hot work the American commander was fully convinced that sooner or later his ship must sink, yet Commodore Dale, one of the most eminent of the American officers now living, and who was Jones's first lieutenant during the engagement, says, that Jones never once flinched during the whole conflict; and that even during the greater horrors which are to follow, "nothing could depress his ardour, or change his determination."

Jones, however, had well lined his tops, and these seconded the exertions of his little battery. He directed the fire of one of the three cannons against the mainmast of the Serapis with double-headed shot, while the two other were equally well served with grape and cannister to silence the enemy's musketry and clear her decks. The fire from the tops of the Bon Homme was conducted with such skill and effect, that, ultimately, every man who appeared on the deck of the Serapis was immediately disposed of. Captain

Pearson then ordered the survivors to keep below. Here they were not more secure. The powder monkies of the Serapis finding no officer to receive the eighteen pound cartridges, which it was their duty to supply, threw them on the main deck and then went off for more. These cartridges being scattered along the deck, and many of them being broken, it so happened, that some of the hand grenades thrown from the fore-yard of the Bon Homme, which was directly over the main hatch of the Serapis, fell upon this powder and produced a most awful explosion. The effect was terrific; more than twenty of the English were blown to pieces. Pearson, as he afterwards acknowleged, was now on the point of surrendering, when the cowardice of three of the under officers of the Bon Homme induced them to call out "quarter!" The English commander personally demanded of Jones whether he surrendered; the American commander personally answered in the most decided negative.

The action now commenced with redoubled fury; Jones still succeeded in keeping the enemy's

deck clear; but the fire of their cannon, especially of the lower battery which was formed of eighteen pounders, was incessant. Both ships were now on fire in several places. The Bon Homme was several times under the necessity of suspending the combat to extinguish the flames, which were often within a few inches of the magazine. The water also gained upon them. "I had two enemies to contend with," said Jones, "besides the English,—fire and water!"

At this moment the Alliance appeared, and Jones now thought the battle was at an end; but, to his utter astonishment, Landais discharged a broadside full into the stern of the Bon Homme. The crew cried to him, "for God's sake to forbear firing into the Bon Homme Richard," but Landais passed along the offside of the ship, and continued his firing. There was no possibility of his mistaking the Bon Homme for the Serapis, for there was the most essential difference in their appearance and construction; it was full moonlight too, and the sides of the American were all black and of the Serapis yellow. For

greater security, Jones gave the signal of reconnoissance, but nothing availed: the Alliance passed round, firing into her commodore's ship's head, stern, and broadside, and by one of her vollies killed several men and wounded a valuable officer. "My situation," say Jones, was now really deplorable."

The Alliance at last sailed off; not, however, without giving the Bon Homme several shots under water. This was perfect destruction. The leak gained ground on the pumps, and the fire increased so much on board both ships, that some officers advised Jones to strike, "of whose courage and good sense he entertained the highest opinion."

It was a grand scene that the Channel witnessed that night. A numerous fleet had taken refuge under the walls of Scarborough castle; the Bon Homme and Serapis, joined in an encounter almost unparalleled for its fierceness and duration, finely contrasted with the picturesque and shattered appearance of the Pallas and the Countess of Scarborough, now both silenced; and

the moon, which was extremely bright and full, lighted up, not only this magnificent scene, but Flamborough Head, and the surrounding heights covered with the inhabitants of all the neighbouring towns.

While the American commodore appeared to be hesitating, whether he should follow the advice of his officers, his master at arms, who was frightened out of his wits, suddenly let loose all the prisoners, amounting to nearly five hundred, telling them, " to save themselves as the ship was going to sink."

This last misfortune seemed to be decisive. One prisoner jumped over to the enemy, and told them, that if they held out a moment longer the enemy must strike. " Our rudder," says Jones, in his letter to Franklin, was entirely off; the stern-frame, and transoms were almost entirely cut away; the timbers by the lower deck, especially from the mainmast to the stern, being greatly decayed by age, were mangled beyond every power of description; and a person must have been an eye-witness, to have formed a just idea,

of the tremendous scene of carnage, wreck and ruin that every where appeared." Yet, notwithstanding this state,—notwithstanding that the prisoners were loose,—that the ship was on fire in many places, and that there was five feet of water in the hold, Jones determined to fight on. He observed what his affrightened crew had overlooked—he saw the mainmast of the Serapis shake, and his practised ear told him, that "their firing decreased." He took care that his own should immediately increase; and at half past ten, in the sight of thousands, the flag of England, which had been nailed to the mast of the Serapis, was struck by Captain Pearson's own hand. Her mainmast at the same time went overboard.

Had Napoleon commanded the British frigate, he would have said, that he "ought to have won." Very probably the brave English captain thought the same.

Before any thing, except the wounded, could be removed, the Bon Homme Richard sank. The Countess of Scarborough had previously struck to the Pallas.

CHAPTER V.

Jones arrives in the Texel—The anger of the English court—Their remonstrance—Their squadrons—Jones's secret correspondence with the Dutch government—His prisoners—His plans—Offer of a French commission—His answer—His critical situation—An escape.

THE result of the terrible contest with the Serapis filled all Europe and America with the renown of Paul Jones. The court of Versailles was in a rapture; the court of London in a rage. The national pride was wounded to the quick, at finding the finest frigate of the English navy captured close to the English shores, and in the sight of assembled thousands. But the effect which was produced on the public mind of England, will be better understood, if we recur to some of the newspapers and journals of the day.

London, 27th Sept. 1779.

"A letter from Sunderland, dated 20th September, says, that an express arrived there on the 6th from Aymouth, with information that

Paul Jones was off there with five sail of ships of war, 2000 troops on board; that, on the 19th, they appeared off Sunderland, and came up within two miles, which put the inhabitants into great confusion, as they expected them to land every hour, or destroy the ships in the harbour."

Extract of a letter from Stockton, September 21.

"The undermentioned ships have appeared off this place under the command of Paul Jones: we have sent the bearers to inform all light colliers they may meet with to take harbour as soon as possible, and there to remain till they receive advice of their being off the coast.

"On Saturday noon, two gentlemen of the corporation of Hull arrived express at the Admiralty, with the alarming account, that the celebrated American Corsair Paul Jones had entered the river Humber on Thursday last, and chased a vessel to within a mile of the pier, when he sunk, burnt and destroyed, sixteen sail of valuable vessels, which threw the whole town and neighbourhood into the utmost consternation. He had

taken nine or ten colliers, and other vessels a day or two before he appeared at Hull. The following is the force of Jones's squadron.

A Boston built frigate with 40 guns upon one deck (Jones's ship).

A French ship (an old Indiaman) of 44 guns.

Two American frigates of 32 guns each, new.

One 20 gun frigate.

Two brigantines of 18 guns each.

Two small tenders.

"On Saturday night another express arrived at the Admiralty from Hull, with the further disagreeable intelligence, that Paul Jones's squadron, after having done more mischief in the shipping on Friday, had fallen in with the Baltic fleet, and had taken their convoy, the Serapis man-of-war, of 44 guns, Captain Pearson, and the armed ship the Countess of Scarborough, Captain Piercy, of 24 guns. This action was seen by thousands of spectators; the other ships of Jones's squadron were making havoc among the fleet, most of which, however, had taken shelter near Flamborough-head.

"From four captured Americans, it was discovered, that it was Jones's plan to alarm the coasts of Wales, Ireland, the western parts of Scotland and the North Channel. Jones took several prizes on the coast of Ireland (particularly two armed transports with stores for New York), in the North sea, and near the Frith of Forth, and had it in his power to have burnt Leith, but his orders are only to burn shipping; the squadron is now but weakly manned, owing to the great number of prizes he has taken, and it therefore may fall an easy conquest to the sixteen sail of men-of-war who have orders to go after him.

"The Serapis man-of-war lost her main-mast, bowsprit, and mizen topmast before she struck; and the Captain of the Scarborough made an exceeding good defence against one of the 32 gun frigates: the enemy's 44 gun ship was not in the action, and the Serapis struck to Jones's ship and the 32 gun frigate.

"Expresses also arrived on Saturday from Sunderland, stating, that Paul Jones had taken sixteen sail more of colliers. In consequence of the

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capture of so many colliers, and the interruption of the trade, the price of coals will be enormous. Instead of having the dominion of the sea, it is now evident, that we are not able to defend our own coast from depredation.

"The master of a sloop from Harwich, who arrived yesterday, saw, on Saturday last, no less than eleven sail of men-of-war going in search of Paul Jones, and among them was the Edgar, of 74 guns. By the examination of the four men belonging to one of Paul Jones's squadron, it appears, that Jones's orders were not to burn any houses or towns,—what an example of honour and greatness does America thus show to us! While our troops are running about from town to town on their coast, and burning every thing with wanton, wicked barbarity, Dr. Franklin gives no orders to retaliate, he is above it; and there was a time when an English minister was above it, when an English minister would have disdained to make war in so villanous a mode. It is a disgrace to the nation. Paul Jones could have burned Leith the other day with the greatest

ease, and another little town near it. Yesterday, Lord Sandwich informed some Russian merchants who waited on him, that twenty of his Majesty's ships were sent in quest of Paul Jones."

"London, Sept. 28.—Captain Pearson, who commands the Serapis of 44 guns, which was taken by Paul Jones, was appointed to the Endymion of 44 guns, lately launched at Limehouse and fitting there for sea, and was coming from off his station in the North sea to go on board of her."

But where was the victor? In scarcely a better situation than when the treacherous Captain Landais saluted him with some eighteen pounders under water.

After having been tossed about for some time by contrary winds, failing in gaining Dunkirk, Jones arrived at the Texel, October 3d. This is an island of Holland with a good harbour, and the usual station of the Dutch navy. The one half of the crew, as well of the Bon Homme Richard as of the Serapis, having been killed or wounded, the Commodore addressed himself to

the States General for permission to establish a hospital at the Helder for the wounded. The magistracy of the place, however, opposed this request, and the States then assigned for the desired purpose the fort of the Texel, with permission to Jones himself to garrison the port. For this purpose, he was presented with a commission as commandant of the Texel.

But ere the wounded crews had possessed themselves of the refuge so hospitally offered, Sir Joseph Yorke, the English ambassador at the Hague, came thundering down to reclaim peremptorily from their High Mightinesses the restitution of the English ships, and the delivery unto the king, his master, "of a certain Paul Jones, a subject of the king, who, according to treaties and the laws of war, could only be considered as a rebel and a pirate."

But their High Mightinesses answered and said, "that they would in no respect, whatever, pretend to judge of the legality or illegality of the actions of those who had, upon the open sea, taken any vessels which did not belong to Holland, and brought them into the ports of the republic."

In short, their High Mightinesses declined interference. But the infuriated Sir Joseph launched out another memorial, and not content with again stigmatizing the conqueror of the Serapis as a pirate, a rebel, and a criminal of state, his Excellency talked also of the smallest deviation from the sacred rules of the law of nations, weakening the friendship of neighbours, and "producing serious consequences."

The answer of the States to this memorial, was similar in its effect, but terser in its wording. But the English cabinet thirsted for blood; light squadrons of English men-of-war were dispatched from all quarters to intercept the American Commodore. Two of these squadrons, cruized continually in sight of the Texel and off the Ulie, whilst the others were stationed in such a manner as to cause a general belief, that it would be impossible for Jones to escape. The combined fleet of France and Spain had, moreover, returned to Brest, and the energy of Great Britain, and the attention of all Europe, were concentrated on the little squadron at the Texel.

Down again came Sir Joseph! He was desired once more by his majesty of England, to "renew, in the strongest and most pressing manner," his former request.

Their High Mightinesses were informed, that "the king would think he derogated from his dignity as well as that of their own, were he to enter into the particulars of a case so notorious as the one in question, or to set before the eyes of the ancient friends and allies of his crown analogous examples of other princes and states, he would only remark, that all the placards, even of their High Mightinesses, require that all the captains of foreign armed vessels shall, upon their arrival, present their letters of marque or commission, and authorize, according to the custom of admiralties, to treat all those as pirates whose letters are found to be illegal, *for want of being granted by a sovereign power.*" "Aye, there's the rub!" "The eyes of all Europe are fixed upon your resolution," added, the representative of enraged majesty.

The conduct of Paul Jones, while these plans

for his annihilation were so actively pursued, presents one of the most extraordinary instances of cool courage and mental governance to be found almost in the history of man. To the world he appeared busily employed in refitting his squadron, securing his prisoners, administering to the wants of his wounded, and arranging the business of Landais; to his friends whose anxiety for his situation they did not attempt to conceal from him, he affected an unusual and reckless gaiety, writing to them humorous letters, and scribbling not indifferent verses; but during all this period, Jones was successfully intriguing with the Dutch government, to induce them to declare war against Great Britain and join the "common cause."

Dumas, the American commissioner at the Hague, writes to him in October "The following, dear sir, is the abstract of a letter from the great man at the Hague. 'The States of Holland have unanimously adopted the advice of the Admiralty, which is in perfect conformity with that of the particular College of Amsterdam, of which you have been informed. In all probability the

resolution of the province will be confirmed on Monday, by that of the States General, and the answer, highly satisfactory to the Congress, transmitted to M. Yorke. I learn with great pleasure that M. Jones has received orders which are agreeable to him, relative to Captain Landais. After having read," continues M. Dumas, " the copy of your letter to his Excellency Dr. Franklin, of the 3d October, intended for M. de Capelle, I think it highly improper to be sent to the gentleman. I think I must also tell you, my dear sir, that I am not in any connexion with this gentleman respecting America, and that nobody has the secret of my negotiations here, except two great men, with whom this gentleman is not intimate. He is a very good republican, but by his circumstances he cannot do any good towards *an alliance between the two republics.* He is a well thinking private, but that's all, being excluded from any share of the government of his country. This between us."

The great man at the Hague, was the Grand Pensionary of Holland, M. van Berckel. M. de

Capelle, or Vander Capellen, to use his Dutch name, was a member of the House of Nobles of one of the provinces. He appears to have been a good meaning man, and, desirous of counteracting the mischief which the mistatements of the opposition or the Orange party were making respecting Jones in his province, had written to the American commander, among other things, for an authentic narrative "of a sea fight, rather to be found in the book of the former century, than the present age." He was "an old and tried friend of America," and he hoped that Jones would pardon on that account the liberty he took. But the diplomatic M. Dumas, had determined that M. Vander Capellen, or M. La Capelle as he civilized the name in the full spirit of Parisian refinement, was not to be in the secret, and so the worthy luminary of the province of Overyssel, (the very name would have frightened M. Dumas!) was left in as obscure a state as ever. Jones, however, sent the baron some documents, and acknowledged his kind interest in a very courteous manner.

"Human nature and America are under a very

singular obligation to your Lordship, for your friendship and your patriotism, and I feel every grateful sentiment for your generous and polite letter." "From what I have sent," added Jones, "you will see that I have already been praised more than I deserved. But I must at the same time beg leave to observe, that, by the other papers which I take the liberty to enclose, (particularly the copy of my letter to the Countess of Selkirk, dated on the day of my arrival at Brest from the Irish sea,) I hope you will be convinced that in the British prints I have been censured unjustly. I was indeed born in Britain, but I do not inherit the degenerate spirit of some who belong to that nation, which I at once lament and despise. It is far beneath me to reply to their hireling invectives. They are strangers to the inward approbation that greatly animates and rewards the man, who draws his sword only in the support and dignity of freedom. America has been the country of my fond election from the age of thirteen, when I first saw it. I had the honour to hoist with my own hands the

flag of freedom, the first time it was displayed on the Delaware, and I have attended it with veneration ever since on the Ocean, I see it respected here in spite of the pitiful Sir Joseph, and I ardently wish and hope to exchange a salute with the flag of this Republic. Let but the two republics join hands, and they give peace to the world." M. Dumas would have hardly approved this last hint, to the "well thinking private, but that's all."

The States General kept firm in spite of the last remonstrance. "The ticklish and uncertain situation of the policies of this country," writes Jones to M. de Chaumont, "as affecting the flag of America, has hitherto so much occupied my attention, that I have found little leisure to write. My fears in that respect being now entirely removed, by an unanimous resolution of the States General, that is far more favourable to our cause than I had reason to expect, I now employ this breathing space, to assure you of my regard and affection."

Jones, then notices some little misunderstand-

ing which had existed between himself and M. de Chaumont's father. It appears that the old gentleman, who was a naval commissary, and was occasionally entrusted by De Sartine with a state secret, had incautiously played the great man on his return from Paris, and distilled to his country friends, rather too many drops of intelligence from the minister's confidential communication. One of Jones's best plans was baulked by this indiscretion. "I earnestly wish your father to give to oblivion the past misunderstanding. I am persuaded that he will now see the impropriety of *communicating too early*, and no longer blame me for avoiding free conversations on such subjects. It is not indeed my characteristic to be *full of words*. My heart, however, is no stranger to the sentiments and duties of friendship, though my situation as the servant of the public, leaves me without the power of obliging my private friends, except in the pleasure which I am persuaded they take, in hearing of my success when they have furnished me with the means.

"It affords me great pleasure to assure you,

that I cannot too much praise the gallant behaviour of the young volunteer, Baptiste Trevallier, whom you sent to L'Orient." In the engagement, a sailor called for a wad in loading one of the great guns; he furnished him immediately by substituting his coat which he then wore, and soon afterwards, when the Bon Homme Richard was on fire, he instantly took off his shirt, and dipped it in water, and applied it with great dexterity to smother the flames,"

Jones was highly delighted at the firm conduct of the States. "I am happy, my dear sir," he writes to his old friend Bancroft, "in being able to assure you, that in spite of that little thing, Sir Joseph, the flag of freedom is highly respected indeed at the Texel. I had yesterday the honour to receive authority, by an unanimous resolution of the States, and by an order of the *Prince of Orange*, to land as many prisoners as I please, to place centinels to guard them on the Texel, to haul up the drawbridge of that fort, and to take them away from thence, whenever I think proper, and dispose of them afterwards, as

though they had never been landed. Huzza, America!"

These prisoners were Jones's great pride. Early in life his feelings had been excited by the description of the sufferings of his countrymen, who were imprisoned in the mother country. His objects in removing the war to Europe were mainly to retaliate on the English, for the scenes of havoc which he had witnessed in "the country of his fond election," and to deliver the imprisoned Americans from their dungeons. On his arrival in France intent upon this grand purpose, Jones met with a congenial spirit in the most illustrious of the American commissioners. Franklin, that mighty master of the human mind, soon dived into the innermost recesses of Jones's soul. He was struck with his daring courage, his manly frankness, and his enthusiastic sentiments. He perceived him bold in purpose, systematic in conception, and firm in execution. The wily politician smiled at the chivalric and romantic sentiments of his youthful friend; but the practical philosopher felt, that to perform extraordinary

actions, a man must often entertain extraordinary sentiments, and that in the busiest scenes of human life, enthusiasm is not always vain, nor romance always a fable.

To go on in the great work in which he had so succeeded:" "to deliver his suffering countrymen from the cells and dungeons of Great Britain," were the constant admonitions of the American commissioner. Praise from such a man as Franklin was as valued as it was unusual. What effect would it not have upon an ardent and sanguine temperament, upon a young man of strong and overbounding passions, the architect of his own fortune—without friends or relatives, or almost country. To be immediately received into the confidence of one of the most leading characters of the age; to find himself suddenly addressed in the language of the warmest affection by one to whom he could only look up for the dull routine of diplomatic civilities, produced an effect upon Jones's mind which, to the last hour of his existence, he gloried in remembering.

How can we describe his sensations when, on arriving in the Texel, he found that the number of his prisoners exceeded that of the Americans remaining imprisoned. Franklin writes to him, "I am uneasy about your prisoners, and wish they were safe in France; you will then have completed the glorious work of giving liberty to all the Americans that have so long languished for it in the British prisons, for there are not so many there as you have now taken."

"It is the greatest triumph," said Jones to M. de Chaumont, when writing upon this subject, "it is the greatest triumph which a good man can boast—a thousand times more flattering to me than victory."

Franklin's uneasiness about the prisoners was not unfounded. Jones writes to the Duc de Vauguyon, the French ambassador at the Hague, on this subject. "I would esteem it a particular favour to have your opinion on the measures that are most expedient to be adopted in this respect. Whether it would be consistent to set them at liberty here upon such security as may be obtained,

that the English government will immediately expedite an equal number of Americans to France; for, unless such security as may be fully depended upon can be obtained, I think these prisoners must be sent immediately to Dunkirk?"

"As I am informed," he writes to Franklin, "that Captain Cunningham is threatened with unfair play by the British government, I am determined to keep in my hands the Captain of the Serapis as an hostage for Cunningham's release as a prisoner of war. With respect to the other prisoners in my hands, if the English ambassador, Sir Joseph Yorke, will give us security in his public character, that an equal number and denomination of Americans shall be sent to France immediately, I believe it will be good policy to set them at liberty here; and I shall endeavour indirectly to inform myself immediately how that matter can be managed.

"I wish heartily that poor Cunningham (whom I am taught to regard as a continental officer) were exchanged; as, with his assistance, I could form a court martial, which, I believe, you will

see unavoidable." But Sir Joseph Yorke was now thundering with his memorials, and would not listen to "Scotch pirates and rebels," even when the lives of his wounded countrymen were at stake.

The late commander of the Serapis soon after wrote to Jones on the enlargement of himself and men. The letter was sufficiently haughty, and very ill spelt; and certainly had not his naval conduct been more generally correct than his grammar, Captain Pearson would have been dismissed his Majesty's service long before he met the Bon Homme Richard.

"As you have not been prevented from corresponding with your friends," answered Jones, "and particularly with the English ambassador at the Hague, I could not suppose you to be unacquainted with his memorial of the 8th to the States General; and, therefore, I thought it fruitless to pursue the negotiation for the exchange of the prisoners of war now in our hands.

"I wished to avoid any painful altercation with you on that subject: I was persuaded, that you

had been in the highest degree sensible that my behaviour towards you had been far from '*a breach of civility.*' This charge, sir, is not a civil return for the polite hospitality and disinterested attentions which you have hitherto experienced.

"I know not what difference of respect is due to 'rank' between your service and ours; I suppose, however, the difference must be thought *very great* in England, since I am informed that Captain Cunningham, of equal denomination, and who has been a senior rank in the service of America, than yours in the service of England, is now confined at Plymouth, in a dungeon and in fetters. *Humanity*, which has hitherto superseded the plea of *retaliation* in American hearts, has induced me (notwithstanding the procedure of Sir Joseph Yorke,) to seek permission to land the dangerously wounded, as well prisoners as Americans, to be supported and cured at the expense of our Continent. The permission of the government has been obtained; but the magistrates continue to make objections. I shall not discontinue my

application; I am ready to adopt any means that you may propose for their preservation and recovery; and, in the mean time, we shall continue to treat them with the utmost care and attention, equally, as you know, to the treatment of our own people of the same rank.

"As it is possible that you have not yet seen the memorial of your ambassador to the States General, I enclose a paper which contains a copy, and I believe he has since written what, in the opinion of good men, will do still less honour to his pen.

"I cannot conclude without informing you, that unless Captain Cunningham is immediately better treated in England, I expect orders in consequence from his excellency Dr. Franklin; therefore, I beseech you, sir, interfere."

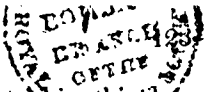
Overwhelmed as Jones nearly was with the most important business, he was still doomed to be troubled by Captain Landais. This worthy was swaggering about the Hague, affecting a perfect independence of Jones, and swearing that he, Landais, was one of the most injured beings that

ever yet breathed. Jones treated this man with the most supreme contempt; and he was wrong. He knew Landais to be a weak and inefficient creature, but he forgot that these very things are the fittest tools for a faction. Jones had been advised by all his officers to put Landais under arrest after the battle; but he refused, because it would make him of too much importance. When M. de Chaumont remonstrated with him on his lenity, and urged his immediate punishment; "It must be his punishment," answered Jones, "to be informed, as he will be by his excellency Dr. Franklin, that I have always written in his favour; and, you well know, that I took every possible pains to establish him in that command, and to gain back to him the confidence of his people, which, when he first came to serve under my orders, he had entirely lost." This was very noble, but not very wise conduct. Landais was not exactly the being to be affected by such information,—he was not what Paul Jones would call "a man of sensibility."

Landais conduct was, however, properly re-

ported in the official report. "I received the account of your cruize and engagement with the Serapis," writes Franklin, "which you did me the honour to send me from the Texel; I have since received your favour of the 8th from Amsterdam. For some days after the arrival of your express, scarce anything was talked of at Paris and Versailles but your cool conduct and persevering bravery during that terrible conflict. You may believe that the impression on my mind was not less strong than that of others, but I do not choose to say in a letter to yourself, all I think on such an occasion.

"The ministry are much dissatisfied with Captain Landais, and Monsieur de Sartine has signified to me in writing, that it is expected that I should send for him to Paris, and call him to account for his conduct, particularly for deferring so long his coming to your assistance; by which means, it is supposed, the States lost more of their valuable citizens, and the king lost many of his subjects, volunteers in your ship, together with the ship itself.



"I have, accordingly, written to him this day, acquainting him, that he is charged with disobedience of orders in the cruize, and neglect of his duty in the engagement; that a court martial being at this time inconvenient, if not impracticable, I would give him an earlier opportunity of offering what he has to say in his justification, and for that purpose direct him to render himself immediately here, bringing with him such papers or testimonies as he may think useful in his defence. I know not whether he will obey my orders, nor what the ministry would do with him if he comes; but I suspect that they may, by some of their concise operations, save the trouble of a court martial. It will, however, be well for you to furnish me with what you may judge proper to support the charges against him, that I may be able to give a just and clear account to Congress. In the mean time it will be necessary, if he should refuse to come, that you should put him under an arrest, and in that case, as well as if he comes, that you should either appoint some person to the command or take it upon yourself, for I know of

no person to recommend to you as fit for that station."

The "more concise operations," perhaps, hinted at the Bastile. Landais, however, had grown still bolder during his stay at the Hague, and when these instructions had arrived, he was loudly and constantly declaring, that the Serapis had struck to the Alliance, and that he was the cause of the successful issue of the contest. The commander of the Serapis was a brave and fair man. He did not pretend to say that he had not struck to Jones, but of course, as every other man in his situation would have done, he did not forget to state in his report to the lords of the admiralty, that he had been engaged with *two* frigates. This circumstance made his capture somewhat less disgraceful.

Jones felt the difficulty of his situation.—He was fully aware with what a suspicious eye the world always looks upon conflicting and contrary statements.

With his craving desire of fame, the idea that he should be robbed of the reputation which he

had so hardly earned, was perfect madness. The affair, he felt, must be crushed at the outset, and he publicly appealed to the whole squadron.

This appeal, at least, showed Jones's confidence in the goodness of his cause; for the conduct of the French commanders had been anything but indicative of devotion to the interests of the commodore. Cottineau and Ricot were, however, men of honour; and although jealousy had made them but feebly co-operate in undertakings whose merits they were unqualified to estimate, yet, nevertheless, the conduct of Jones had in the day of trial been so admirable, and that of Landais so outrageous, that they answered the appeal of their commander with promptitude and spirit.

Twenty-five charges were produced against the Captain of the Alliance, and each of these charges was supported by depositions of different officers, "upon their words of honour as gentlemen."

It was first proved, that Landais had purposely run foul of the Bon Homme in the bay of Biscay. This was a circumstance which Jones had strongly suspected at the time.

His gross disrespect to the commodore, his disobedience of signals, his refusal to answer them, his unauthorized and mischievous separation from the squadron, his impudent and arrant cowardice, formed the subject of ten distinct accusations, which were proved by all the officers who could possibly bear witness to the facts. His conduct during the engagement with the Serapis, and his ruinous neglect in not destroying and capturing the Baltic fleet, were the subject of the fifteen other accusations, and were proved in the same manner. The chief officers of the Alliance bore witness to the ill conduct of their commander. Among other facts De Cottineau averred, that when the Bon Homme appeared off Flamborough head, Landais distinctly stated to him, that if, as it appeared to be, it were a ship of fifty guns, "he should decidedly run away," although he knew the Pallas, from her heavy sailing, must have fallen a sacrifice. It was also distinctly proved that Landais had stated, that he should not have cared had the Bon Homme struck, as then, from the shattered state of the Serapis, he should have

had both ships for prizes. We will leave Captain Landais for the present.

" A thousand thanks, my loved and noble friend," writes Jones to La Fayette, " for the very kind and affectionate letter that you did me the honour to write me from Havre, which greatly rewards me for the danger that I have lately overcome. Words are wanting to express how much I esteem, how highly I value, and how much I wish to merit, the friendship and affection of the American general, Le Marquis de la Fayette.

" I am very much concerned and ashamed to understand that my " numbers" that you received from L'Orient were so ill composed. It is a proof that their ladyships, the Muses, however condescending they may be on the banks of the Helicon, will not dispense their favours to the sons of a Neptune, especially when they are

> ' By bounding billows and rude winds that blow,
> Alternate tossed in air, or sunk to sands below.'

" The late brutalities of the Britons in America fill me with horror and indignation. They forget that they are men: and I believe nothing will

bring them to their senses but the most exemplary retaliation. Landais is ordered to Paris to answer for his past conduct.

"I wish to answer very particularly the three points, which you have propounded. 1st. I never meant to ask a reward for my services, either from France or America; consequently the approbation of the Court and of the Congress is all the gratification I can wish for. 2dly. I yet intend to undertake whatever the utmost exertions of my abilities will reach, in support of the common cause, as far as any force that may in future be intrusted to my direction may enable me to succeed: (I hope, however, my future force will be better composed than when I sailed from L'Orient): I *must* sail from the Texel in the course of next month, because ships cannot afterwards remain here in this road. My destination or route from hence, I yet know not; but I need not tell you that I wish to see your face. 3dly. It is now in vain to say what might have been done two years ago with the force you mention; but I believe, *if properly supported by sea,* such a force might

yet perform very essential service: there is no guarding, you know, against storms, and one would wish either to avoid or to *outsail* a superior sea force. As I believe you know my way of thinking on such subjects, I shall offer you no arguments: I know you want no prompter.

"I beg Captain Ricot's pardon for having said, in the extract of my journal, that, in the engagement with the Serapis, he prevented my officers and men in the pilot-boat from coming to my assistance. I now find that this did not happen till the pilot-boat had returned to the Vengeance, about the middle of the action, without having boarded the Bon Homme Richard according to Captain Ricot's orders. I was a little vexed, too, that Captain Ricot did not come on board the Bon Homme Richard the next day to offer me his assistance, when I was in the greatest imaginable distress and the signal was flying. But these are trifles; and I am much more obliged to him for not firing, than to Landais for killing my men and sinking my ship: upon the whole, Capt. Ricot has acted as became a sensible, prudent officer,

and is a man with whom I wish to be further connected. At Leith he was destined to cover the descent, and I am fully convinced that he would have executed it with great honour to himself, had not the gale of wind in the critical moment rendered the design impracticable. I shall correct the error in my letter to the minister, and do his character justice.

"I have a very good opinion, too, of the abilities of Captain Cottineau, and I wish to be concerned with them both in future, with better ships. But I must speak plainly my opinion, since you desire it—I do not think that *the desire of glory* was the uppermost sentiment in the breast of any captain under my command at the time we left L'Orient."

Although so actively employed in the Texel, Jones still found time to convey to the French minister some hints as to fresh enterprises. But, under the circumstances under which Jones engaged, it was extremely difficult to find employment for his active genius. He would not fight under the French flag: the officers of the French

navy were extremely dissatisfied that a command should be given to a foreigner, who was not entered into their marine. Jones, however, had no mercy on the minister in his dilemma, and was not very anxious to conceal the sensations which he experienced. The Duc de la Vauguyon, in consequence of this dissatisfaction, wrote to him a very soothing and complimentary epistle:—"I perceive with pain, my dear Commodore, that you do not view your situation in the right light; and I can assure you that the ministers of the king have no intention to cause you the least disagreeable feeling, as the honourable testimonials of the esteem of his majesty which I send you ought to convince you. I hope you will not doubt the sincere desire with which you have inspired me to procure you every satisfaction you may merit. It cannot fail to incite you to give new proofs of your zeal for the common cause of France and America. I flatter myself to renew before long the occasion, and to procure you the means to increase still more the glory you have already acquired. I am already occupied with all the

interest I promised you; and if my views are realized, as I have every reason to believe, you will be at all events perfectly content; but I must pray you not to hinder my project by delivering yourself to the expression of those strong sensations to which you appear to give way, and for which there is really no foundation. You appear to possess full confidence in the justice and kindness of the king; rely also upon the same sentiments on the part of his ministers."

"I have not a heart of stone," says Jones, in answer to the Duc, "but am duly sensible of the obligation conferred on me by the very kind and affectionate letter that you have done me the honour to write me, the 21st current. Were I to form my opinion of the ministry from the treatment that I experienced while at Brest, or from their want of confidence in me afterwards, exclusive of what has taken place since I had the misfortune to enter this port, I will appeal to your excellency, as a man of candour and ingenuity, whether I ought to desire to prolong a connexion

that has made me so unhappy, and wherein I have given so very little satisfaction. M. le Chev. de Lironcourt has lately made me reproaches on account of the expense that, he says, France has been at to give me reputation, in preference to twenty captains of the royal navy, better qualified than myself, and who, each of them, solicited for the command that was lately given to me!

"This, I confess, is quite new, and, indeed, surprising to me; and, had I known it before I left France, I certainly should have resigned in favour of the twenty men of superior merit. I do not however think that his first assertion is true; for the ministers must be unworthy of their places, were they capable of squandering the public money only to give an individual reputation! and as to the second, I fancy the court will not thank him for having given me that information whether true or false. I may add here, that with a force so ill composed, and with powers so limited, I ran ten chances of ruin and dishonour, for one of gaining reputation, and had not the plea of humanity in favour of the unfortunate

Americans in English dungeons, superseded all consideration of self, I faithfully assure you, my Lord, that I would not have proceeded under such circumstances from Groa. I do not imbibe hasty prejudices against any individuals; but when many and repeated circumstances conspiring in one point, have inspired me with disesteem towards any person, I must see convincing proof of reformation in such person, before my heart can beat again with affection in his favour: for the mind is free, and can be bound only by kind treatment.

"You do me great honour as well as justice, my Lord, by observing, that no satisfaction can to me be more precious than that of giving new proofs of my zeal for the common cause of France and America; and the interest you take to facilitate the means of my giving sure proofs by essential services claims my best thanks. I hope I shall not, through any imprudence of mine, render ineffectual any noble design that may be in contemplation for the general good: whenever that object is mentioned my private concerns are out

of the question; and when I cannot speak exactly what I could wish with respect to my private satisfaction, I promise you in the mean time to observe a profound silence."

Jones had previously expressed his dissatisfaction in a letter to his friend, Mr. Morris, who was then minister of America in France. "The great seem to wish only to be concerned with tools, who dare not speak or write truth. I am not sorry that my connexion with them is at an end. In the course of that connexion I ran ten chances of ruin and dishonour for one of reputation, and all the honour or profit that France could bestow, should not tempt me again to undertake the same service, with an armament equally ill composed and with powers equally limited. It affords me the most exalted pleasure to reflect, that when I return to America, I can say, I have served in Europe at my own expense, and without the fee or reward of a court. When the prisoners we have taken are safely lodged in France, I shall have no further business in Europe, as the liberty of all our

fellow citizens who now suffer in English prisons will then be secured."

The English ambassador persisted in urging to the Dutch government the point which he had formerly raised, as to the non-possession by Jones and his squadron of proper commissions. As it was certainly difficult to get over this point, without immediately recognizing the independence of the American states, it was settled that the French government should furnish the squadron with French commissions, by virtue of which, the objection of the English ambassador would be answered.

But Jones refused the commission. "On his arrival in the Texel, he had publicly declared himself an officer of the United States of America; he was not authorized by his government to receive the proffered commission; and he moreover conceived that, under existing circumstances, it would be dishonourable to himself, and disadvantageous to America to change his flag."

The prudence of the French cabinet did not, however, suffer the noble feelings of the Ame-

rican officer to compromise the safety of the rest of the squadron. With the exception of the Alliance, the remainder of the squadron were the property of his most Christian Majesty, and the French ambassador had in consequence the right to dispose of them. The American minister accompanied the order of the French minister, with one also to the commodore to deliver up all his prisoners to the French ambassador, with the Serapis and the Countess of Scarborough, to convey them. Under convoy of the Dutch fleet, the squadron left the Texel.

The English ambassador was greatly enraged at the assistance thus unwarrantably granted by a neutral government to an enemy of his royal master. The idea of regaining the English ships being now hopeless, additional retribution was to be visited on their undaunted captor, and as open remonstrance to the Dutch government had hitherto been unavailing, it was determined to have recourse to secret intrigue.

In the mean time Jones did not lose his spirits

in his solitary situation. "I am exceedingly obliged to you for this mark of your attention," he writes to a Bordeaux friend, "and I would not hesitate to avail myself of your proffered services, if I could tell you where to send me some good wine, which you know is not amiss after *hard blows*. You know, I suppose, that Sir Joseph Yorke and his masters are determined, the one to drive me from hence if possible, and the others to pay me their compliments in England. I am much obliged to them for their kind attentions, though they cannot well spare them. They have done me the honour to place four fine ships, at each entry to this road, to give me a royal salute when I retreat. What regret I should have, if an ill-natured gale of wind should force them on shore before I am ready to receive the honour which they intend to pay me."

The English ambassador at length succeeded, by the influence of the Prince of Orange, in gaining an order for the dismissal of Paul Jones from the Texel. As therefore, in a very short time,

the American commander was in all probability to close his brief, but splendid, career, he felt it a duty to draw up a short memoir of his public life, and to transmit it to the American congress. After a long statement, by which he shews that it has never been his fortune to have possession of means equal to his conceptions, he says of his European exploits, that the first object of his life "was to secure an exchange of American prisoners in Europe; and my second, to put an end to burnings in America, by making one good fire of the English shipping. I succeeded in the first in a manner far more glorious than my most flattering ideas had expected when I left France.

In the second, I endeavoured to deserve success; but a wise officer of mine* observed, that it was a "rash thing," and that nothing could be got by burning poor people's property. I must however do the gentleman the justice to mention his acknowledgment, that "he had no turn for

* Lieutenant Simpson.

enterprise;" and I must also do equal justice to my former officers in the Providence and the Alfred, by declaring, that had they then been with me in the Ranger, 250 or 300 sail of large ships at Whitehaven would have been laid in ashes."

He finished by saying, "I have not drawn my sword in our glorious cause for hire; but in the support of the dignity of human nature, and in obedience to the genuine divine feelings of philanthropy; I hoisted with my own hands the flag of Freedom the first time it was displayed on the Delaware, I have attended it ever since with veneration on the Ocean. I claimed and obtained its first salute from that of France, before our independence was otherwise announced in that kingdom; and no man can wish more ardently to support its *rising glory* than myself."

In gaining an order for the dismissal of Jones from the Texel, the English ambassador had conceived that his grand object was obtained; for so completely did the American frigate ap-

pear to be blockaded, that escape seemed utterly impossible. One morning, however, Jones with a favouring breeze suddenly dashed from his retreat, and, "in spite of all their cruizing ships and squadrons," fairly made his escape. "I am, my dear philosopher," he writes to M. Dumas, "this moment arrived here. We have made our way good through the Channel in spite of the utmost efforts of Britain to prevent it. I had the pleasure of laughing at their expense as we passed the Downs, in spite of their ships of war, and along the coast in full view of the Isle of Wight."

But while we admire the admirable skill, with which the American commander eluded the snares of his persecutors, with what other feelings shall we view the conduct of that man, who, in a situation of such imminent and extraordinary peril, was calmly employed in scribbling some complimentary stanzas to an absent fair one! Yet such was the fact. The daughter of M. Dumas, like all other fair dames, had made an early impression on the sensitive heart of Paul Jones. The lady wrote very pretty verses to a man pre-

eminent for his chivalric gallantry. The neglect which he had been guilty of in not answering her last verses from the Hague, appears to have weighed more upon his mind than all the squadrons and remonstrances of his enemy. The bad condition of the Alliance had prevented Jones's favourite wish of cruizing for some time against the enemy before his return to France. Next to not being captured, he was extremely desirous of returning with a capture. He was obliged however, from the cause we have just stated, to put in at Corogne, from which place he immediately dispatched the letter to M. Dumas, from which we have already quoted. "To shew you," he continues," that I am entirely disposed to obey you, I have enclosed *un petit badinage* for the *virgin muse*, but if I do not find critical mercy, you shall not take me in so a second time."

As verses composed under such circumstances, may pehaps, like a more celebrated effusion, "be considered as a psycological curiosity," the reader will most probably not be displeased with their appearance.

Verses written on board the Alliance off Ushant, the first day of January, 1781, immediately after escaping out of the Texel from the blockade of the British fleet; being in answer to a piece written and sent to the Texel by a young lady at the Hague.

TO MISS DUMAS.

I.

Were I, Paul Jones, dear maid, the "King of Sea,"
I find such merit in thy virgin song,
A coral crown with bays I'd give to thee,
A car, which on the waves should smoothly glide along;
The Nereïdes all about thy side should wait,
And gladly sing in triumph of thy state,
"Vivat, vivat" the happy virgin muse!
Of Liberty the friend,—whom tyrant power pursues!

II.

Or, happier lot! were fair Columbia free
From British tyranny; and youth still mine,
I'd tell a tender tale to one like thee
With artless looks, and breast as pure as thine.
If she approved my flame, distrust apart,
Like faithful turtles, we'd have but one heart;
Together then we'd tune the silver lyre,
As Love or sacred Freedom should our lays inspire.

III.

But since, alas! the rage of war prevails,
And cruel Britons desolate our land,
For Freedom still I spread my willing sails,
My unsheathed sword my injured country shall command.
Go on, bright maid, the Muses all attend
Genius like thine, and wish to be its friend.
Trust me, although conveyed through this poor shift,
My new year's thoughts are grateful for thy virgin gift.

The escape of Paul Jones exhausted the patience of the court of London, and war was soon after declared against the Low Countries. The harbouring of the American commodore at the Texel was the subject of the first article of the declaration. Thus was this extraordinary man the means by which a powerful European government joined in the "common cause" to which he was so devoted!*

* I am indebted for much interesting matter contained in this chapter, to a MS. state paper of the Dutch government. It is styled, "The statement of M. Van Berckel, grand pensionary of Amsterdam, as to Commodore John Paul Jones."

CHAPTER VI.

Jones's illness—His arrival in Paris—His honours—Delia—La belle Comtesse—An amourette—Captain Landais—Jones's departure for America.

After a very stormy passage Jones arrived at Groa, but his health was so impaired by his late extraordinary exertions, that he was obliged to defer for some weeks his much wished for journey to Paris, and he resided at l'Orient. He suffered terribly from inflammation in his eyes, "and was not otherwise in good health."

"I am now a little recovered," he writes to La Fayette, "but it is with difficulty that I can look on paper, therefore I should not at this instant have taken up my pen, had I not this day understood by a friend, that my attachment and esteem for this nation had been called in question. Withdrawn, as I am at present, from the

public attention, and having endeavoured only by my past conduct to prove my zeal for the common cause, it is strange that I cannot escape the malicious attacks of little minds. If any person, who has himself deserved well of his country, can accuse me of ingratitude, let him step forth like a man, and I will answer him '*en homme d' honneur*.' M. Weibert has, I understand, taken great pains to promulgate that I do not love France. He is not surely among the most worthy part of the nation, yet he partook both of my purse and table till the moment of separation, after I had provided for him a free passage in a ship destined for America, from a situation where he had little danger to apprehend from the enemy. To come to the point, here follows my political profession. I am a citizen of the world, totally unfettered by the little mean distinctions of country or of climate, which diminish or set bounds to the benevolence of the heart. Impelled by principles of gratitude or philanthropy, I drew my sword at the beginning

of the American revolution; and when France so nobly espoused that great cause, no individual felt the obligation with truer gratitude than myself. When the court of France soon after invited me to remain for a time in Europe, I considered myself as highly honoured by the application that was made to the American commissioners. Since that time I have been at every instant, and I still am, ready to do my utmost, for the good of the common cause of France and America. As an American officer, and as a man, I affectionately love and respect the character and nation of France, and hope the alliance with America may last for ever. I owe the greatest obligation to the generous praises of the French nation on my past conduct, and shall be happy to merit future favour. I greatly love and esteem his most Christian Majesty, as the great ally of America, the best of kings and the amiable friend and protector of the rights of human nature; therefore he has very few of his own subjects who would bleed in his present cause with greater freedom than myself, and none who

are more disinterested. At the same time I lament the calamities of war, and wish above all things for an honourable, happy and lasting peace. My fortune is not augmented by the part I have hitherto acted in the revolution, (although I have had frequent opportunities of acquiring riches,) and I pledge myself to the worthy part of mankind, that my future conduct in the war shall not forfeit their good opinion."

At length, early in the spring of the year (1780), Jones reached Paris. If a nation's admiration and applause could have compensated him for his past dangers, (and there never breathed a being to whom the praise of man was half so dear,) Paul Jones was contented. At all public places at which he appeared, the audience immediately rose, he was followed by crowds in all the promenades, and was the hero of every song and every fashion. The chief nobility loaded him with invitations, and by the especial desire of the king he was immediately introduced at court. He was presented by his majesty with a superb sword, "which would have done honour to the

greatest admiral in history." The costly weapon bore this inscription: "VINDICATI MARIS LUDOVICUS XVI. REMUNERATOR STRENUO VINDICI." M. De Sartine transmitted him a letter, expressing in his majesty's name his entire approbation of his conduct, and assuring him of his particular personal esteem; and means were taken to obtain the permission of Congress, to invest the conqueror of the Serapis with the cross and institution of Military Merit. This last was an honour which had never before been conferred on any man, who had not actually served in the army or navy of the kingdom.

Jones seems to have been delighted by the gorgeous dissipation of the French metropolis. He was, in truth, a republican merely by accident, and should have lived in a land of countesses and crosses. All his former ideas of neglect and discountenance vanished before the pomp of a levee and the praise of a king; and before he had half exhausted the splendid fêtes which rapidly succeeded each other in honour of his victory and his escape, he found himself in the singular

situation of being in love with every woman in Paris.

Next to his desire for FAME, "which was *infinite*," the predominant passion of Paul Jones was LOVE. I much fear that the acceptation which this monosyllable possesses in the present age will give the reader but a faint idea of the sensations of our hero. I should rather go back to the age of Chivalry, and to the poesy of Troubadours, to find parallels for his conduct and language to describe it. With him woman was, indeed, not a toy to waste some idle hours on, but a superior existence, for whom man was born an honoured slave. Her wildest caprice was to him law, and her most improbable declaration absolute authority. She was an exception to the laws of war; and, according to his creed, every man was bound to lay down his life, rather than cause her the uneasiness of a moment. Her praise accordingly was nearly man's greatest reward and most desired possession; a reward and a possession only second to those of gold handled swords and diamond crosses. Jones

was exceedingly agitated, because he heard that a young Englishwoman, who was resident at Paris, had imbibed the national prejudices against him. He was always seriously in love, and often with women he had never seen. It is very certain that he had formed an attachment for "La belle Comtesse," as he styles Lady Selkirk in his letters, and yet this accomplished peeress had never actually been seen by her ardent admirer. What must have been such a man's sensations in Paris? What must have been such a man's sensations, when he found himself in that metropolis, the very pink of fashion, and when he was in correspondence with even royal duchesses? Jones's pen, moreover, was that "of a ready writer," and his love letters were almost irresistible. His verses, also, were not contemptible, although he appears to have been occasionally hard put to it, for I find some very good stanzas with double lines, making them "pass current" both in America and France; such, for instance, as the following: after a description of the return of Jove to

Heaven, from one of his terrestrial visits, he proceeds:

> Thus when the warrior, tho' no god,
> Brings Freedom's standard o'er the main,
> Long absent from thy blest abode,
> *Casts anchor in dear France again,*

This last line, which gives so extemporary an air to the stanzas, as if they had actually been struck off in the roads of Groa, gives way in Virginia and Massachusets to

> "*In fair Colombia moors again.*"

The verses, from which I quote this stanza, were, among other perfect specimens of nature's workmanship, sent to a certain young and high lady of the court, who, under the name of Delia, seems to have been past all recovery.

This lady offered all her diamonds "and effects of all kinds, which may be readily converted into cash," because she heard that Jones's crew were shut out from their prize money. Delia was very sentimental. Her custom was to sit before her lover's "portrait for hours, bathed in tears."

This seems to have been too much for the commodore, who really grew alarmed, when the lady wished to follow him to America, "God! she would willingly be the lowest of his crew!"

I trust that Paul Jones did not behave ill to this eloquent but anonymous young lady; her letters are indeed quite heart-rending, and it is marvel that the chevalier could have ever left her; but, unfortunately, about this time, a certain Comtesse de Lavendahl glided before his enraptured vision, and Delia, the adoring Delia, was, I fear, forgotten.

The Comtesse de Lavendahl was very pretty, and very young, and very dashing, and very sentimental, something of a flirt, and a little, it will appear, of a wag. She smiled upon the most sensitive heart in Christendom, and Paul Jones was a constant inmate of her mansion at Versailles, or rather the count's her husband's; for she did not "smell of bread and butter," and in addition to all her other qualifications—was married. The count was in the provinces. La belle Comtesse—(I trust the unseen beauty of St. Mary's

Isle was not forgotten)—la belle Comtesse was an artist; and she could find no subject for her pencil half so fashionable and half so pleasing as the countenance of Paul Jones.

The enraptured chevalier was constantly at Versailles, and the noble artist was constant at her easel. Who could withstand such a situation? Alas! not Paul Jones! He was desperately enamoured; but the lady was intent upon her easel, and only looked up to bestow a smile and catch a feature. "You have made me in love with my own picture, because you have condescended to draw it," gallantly remarked Jones in one of those elegant billets, whose frequent arrival made the Swisse at the hotel de Lavendahl somewhat stare. But, apropos to portraits! Jones soon remembered, that there was another person in the world besides himself whose portrait might be painted; "if it is possible for you also to bestow the portrait I have solicited, I will wear it round my neck and always think how I may merit so great an obligation." Can the Comtesse de Lavendahl withstand a solicitation so elegantly

enforced? The Comtesse de Lavendahl was the most compliant of women—as far as portraits.

Jones was at length obliged to leave for L'Orient. He passed the evening before his departure with la belle Comtesse, and could not help feeling somewhat annoyed when he found himself in the hotel de Lavendahl still singled out for the smiles of its beautiful mistress, but not one whit more advanced in his suit than when she first flitted by him like a vision never to return. She even lamented his departure, in terms almost too flattering, and at length he left, "though his heart urged him to stay;" but he left not to sleep: and in despair, he wrote what an indefinable influence had always prevented him from uttering.

"I am deeply concerned in all that respects your happiness, I therefore have been, and am much affected at some words that fell, *in private conversation*, from Mademoiselle Edes the evening I left Versailles. I am afraid that you are less happy than I wish, and am sure you deserve to be. I am composing a cipher for a key to our future correspondence, so that you will be able

to write to me very freely and without risk. It is a small dictionary of particular words, with a number annexed to each of them. In our letters we will write sometimes the corresponding number instead of the word, so that the meaning can never be understood, until the corresponding words are interlined over the numbers.

"I beseech you to accept the within lock. I am sorry that it is now eighteen inches shorter than it was three months ago. If I could send you my heart itself, or any thing else that could afford you pleasure, it would be my happiness to do it. *Before* I had the honour of seeing you, I wished to comply with the invitation of my lodge; and I need not add, that I have *since* formed *stronger* reasons that have impelled me to seek after the means of visiting France again as soon as possible."

Alas, la belle Comtesse! alas, deceitful woman! The fair Lavendahl retained the cipher, the letter, and the lock, but wrote to Jones to express her astonishment at his audacity, and to express her supposition that his packet was *misdirected.* In

confirmation of this last idea, she begged to introduce to him the Count de Lavendahl, her husband; he was passing through L'Orient, and she should "be obliged to Jones to pay him every civility." Jones's answer is too good to be omitted. His defence of himself, his compliment to the husband, his introduction of business, and his dextrous return to the charge at the end, are all very admirable.

"L'Orient, July 14th, 1780.

"MADAM,

"Since I had the honour to receive your packet from Versailles, I have carefully examined the copy of my letter from Nantes, but am still at a loss, and cannot conceive, what part of the letter itself could have occasioned your imagining I had mistaken the address. As for the little packet it contained, perhaps it might better have been omitted: if so, it is easily destroyed. If my letter has given you even a moment's uneasiness, I can assure you, that to think so would be as severe a punishment as could be inflicted upon me. However I may have been mistaken, my in-

tention could never have been to give you the most distant offence. I was greatly honoured by the visit of the count, your husband, and am so well convinced of his superior understanding, that I am glad to believe Miss Edes was mistaken. I admire him so much, that I should esteem myself very happy indeed to have a joint expedition with him by sea and land; though I am certain that his laurels would far exceed mine. I mention this, because M. de Genet has both spoken and written to me on the subject as from the count himself.

"I had the honour to lay a project before the king's ministers, in the month of May, for future combined expeditions under the flag of America, and had the satisfaction to find that my ideas were approved by them. If the count, your husband, will do me the honour to concert with M. de Genet, that the court may send with me to America the application that was intended to be made to Congress, conformable to the proposal I made, it would afford me a pleasing opportunity

of shewing my gratitude to the king, to his ministers, and to this generous minded nation. I should be greatly proud to owe my success to your own good offices; and would gladly share with your husband the honour that might result from our operations. I have within these few days had the honour to receive from his majesty the cross of Military Merit, with a sword, that is worthy the royal giver, and a letter which I ardently wish to deserve. I hold the sword in too high estimation to risk its being taken by the enemy; and therefore propose to deposit it in the care of a friend. None can be more worthy of that sacred deposit than you, Madam; and if you will do me the honour to be its guardian, I shall esteem myself under an additional obligation to deserve your ribbon, and to prove myself worthy of the title of your knight. I promised to send you a particular account of my late expedition; but the late extraordinary events that have taken place, with respect to the frigate Alliance, make me wish to postpone that relation until after a court-martial in America shall have furnished

evidence for many circumstances that would, from a simple assertion, appear romance and founded on vanity. The only reason for the revolt on board the Alliance was, because the men were not paid either wages or prize-money; and because one or two envious persons persuaded them that I had concurred with M. de Chaumont to defraud them, and to keep them in Europe during the war, which, God knows, was not true. For I was bound directly for America; and far from concurring with M. de Chaumont I had not even written or spoken to him, but had highly resented his mean endeavours to keep the poor men out of their just rights, which was the only business that brought me to court in April.

" If I am to have the honour of writing you from beyond sea, you will find that the cipher I had the honour to send you may be necessary; because I would not wish all my informations to be understood, in case my letters should fall into the hands of the enemy. I shall communicate no idea in cipher that will offend even such great delicacy as yours; but as you are a philosopher, and as

friendship has nothing to do with sex, pray what harm is there in wishing to have the picture of a friend?

"Present, I pray you, my best respects to the count. If we are hereafter to be concerned together in war, I hope my conduct will give him satisfaction. At any rate, I hope for the honour of his friendship. Be assured that I shall ever preserve for you the most grateful esteem, and the most profound respect.

"PAUL JONES."

"Madame la Comtesse de LAVENDAHL,
à Versailles."

The fame of Jones was now so great, that many members of the first families in France eagerly sought the honour of serving under his command. A young nobleman of fortune, the Count de Tourneville, wrote to him, that "although he had not the honour of a personal acquaintance with him, yet the fame of his exploits, and the glory he had acquired in his last engagement, induced him to ask a favour at his hands:" and, he continues, "it is to grant me an opportunity of being a witness of, and a partaker

in your chivalrous adventures. Understanding that you are now at Dunkirk, where, without doubt, the design of flying to achieve new conquests will not suffer you to remain long, I hasten to offer you my services. I have the honour to request that you will receive me simply as a volunteer, in order that having no fixed post, I may be every where. I have further only to stipulate, that you will admit me to your own table, and place me under your immediate command, so that I may satiate my eyes with the pleasure of beholding your courage, and at least imitate, for it is impossible to equal it. If I should be fortunate enough to obtain this favour, rest assured that you will always find me in the path of honour. I have been long in the service of my country; but the reform which I have introduced in the corps to which I belong, leaves me at leisure to employ myself elsewhere. Having a passion for a sea life, which I have already partially gratified by a voyage to the Indies, I am eager to make one or two campaigns. Since the moment, when the fame of your glorious expedition spread through

the world, I have wished to serve under your orders; and seize the present opportunity to assure you, that, if you accept my proffered services, you will never have cause to repent it: circumstances of a very peculiar nature render me very anxious to execute this intention."

The naval force of America in 1780 was so limited, that the necessity of guarding the harbour of Charleston rendered it necessary to recall the Alliance to the United States. Landais, on his arrival at Paris, had been displaced from the command of this ship by Dr. Franklin, and had been ordered to America. He had not disputed the minister's commands, and had received money from him on account of his passage home to answer his conduct to the Board of Admiralty. Landais, although a Frenchman, was an American subject. He wrote to Franklin, after he had been displaced from the Alliance, and had the impudence to ask for the command of another ship.—Franklin's answer is very characteristic.

"No one has ever learned the opinion I formed of you from inquiry made into your conduct. I

kept it entirely to myself. I have not even hinted it in my letters to America, because I would not hazard giving to any one a bias to your prejudice. By communicating *a part of that opinion* privately to you, I can do no harm, for you may burn it. I should not give you the pain of reading it, if your demand did not make it necessary. I think you then so imprudent, so litigious and quarrelsome a man, even with your best friends, that peace and good order, and consequently the quiet and regular subordination so necessary to success, are, where you preside, impossible; these are within my observation and apprehension. Your military operations I leave to more capable judges. If, therefore, I had twenty ships of war in my disposition, I should not give one of them to Captain Landais. The same temper which *excluded* him from the French marine would weigh equally with me; of course, I shall not replace him in the Alliance.'

Franklin then formally appointed Jones to the Alliance; he left Paris to join his ship with the

following letter from the French minister to the American president:

"Versailles, 30th May, 1780.

"Commodore Paul Jones, after having shewn to all Europe, and particularly to the enemies of France and the United States, the most unquestionable proofs of his valour and talents, is about returning to America, to give an account to Congress of the success of his military operations. I am convinced, sir, that the reputation he has so justly acquired will precede him, and that the recital of his actions alone will suffice to prove to his fellow citizens that his abilities are equal to his courage. But the king has thought proper to add his suffrages and attention to the public opinion. He has expressly charged me to inform you, how perfectly he is satisfied with the services of the commodore, persuaded that Congress will render him the same justice. He has presented him, as a proof of his esteem, with a sword, which cannot be placed in better hands; and likewise proposes to Congress to decorate this brave officer with the Cross of Military

Merit. His majesty conceives that this particular distinction, by holding forth the same honours to the two nations, united by the same interests, will be looked upon as one tie more that connects them, and will support that emulation which is so precious to the common cause. If, after having approved the conduct of the commodore, it should be thought proper to give him the command of any new expedition to Europe, his majesty will receive him again with pleasure, and presumes that Congress will oppose nothing that may be judged expedient to secure the success of his enterprizes. My personal esteem for him induces me to recommend him very particularly to you, sir, and I dare flatter myself that the reception he will receive from Congress and you will warrant the sentiments with which he has inspired me.

"DE SARTINE."

"To MR. HUNTINGDON, President of the Congress of the United States of America."

The French government had also arranged that the frigate Ariel, with supplies for the United States, should accompany the Alliance to France.

Jones at length left Paris and Versailles, after some months of exquisite enjoyment. He was deeply affected by the splendid reception which he had experienced at court, and he "felt bound," he says, "by gratitude and honour, to give every proof in his power of his affection to France." A troublesome plot was, however, all this time preparing for him, notwithstanding "all his blushing honours."

Arthur Lee, who held some diplomatic situation from the American government to the court of France, was the bitter enemy of Dr. Franklin, and, to annoy the minister-plenipotentiary, secretly fomented the affair of Landais. By his advice, this fellow secretly departed from Paris a few days before Jones, and, reaching the Alliance frigate, he informed the crew, that he knew for a certainty, that Paul Jones was the secret cause of their not having their prize money paid them, and that he was their real captain, for he was appointed by Congress, and had never waived his right of commanding them. The crew were soon sufficiently excited, and they left the harbour under

the command of Landais. "I confess to you," writes Jones to Madame Tellison, "that I feel rather ashamed that such an event should have happened, although, God knows, it was not owing to any fault of mine. The true reason was, that M. Roy de Chaumont unjustly detained from the brave Americans, who had so bravely served in the squadron under my command, not only their wages, but also their prize money; and he has not, even to this hour, given me the means of paying them their just claims. One or two envious persons here, taking advantage of these circumstances, persuaded these poor people that I had joined M. Roy de Chaumont to detain from them their just dues, and that it was besides my intention to carry them on new expeditions in Europe, and not to suffer them to return to their families in America during the war. These insinuations were false and groundless; I had disapproved the conduct of M. Roy de Chaumont, so much as neither to speak or write to him after my return to France. My sole business at court was to ob-

tain the free sale of the prizes, which I effected; and, far from being then bound on new expeditions in Europe, I was ordered by the board of admiralty in America to return forthwith to Congress, and had in consequence received the public dispatches both from Dr. Franklin and the court. The Alliance, however, was hurried out of this port before the crew had time for reflection; yet before they sailed from the road of Groa, many of them seeing their error refused to weigh anchor, and were carried to sea confined hands and feet in irons. The government of France had taken measures to stop the ship, but I interposed, to prevent bloodshed between the subjects of the two allied nations. I am now again almost ready to sail in the Ariel, and I know soon after my arrival in America that Congress will do me impartial justice. I will then have the happiness to furnish you with the account I promised, and the circumstances will be supported by the fullest evidence. I dare promise that it will then appear, that I have only been to blame, for having returned here from Paris with-

out having insisted absolutely on the previous payment of my men. Money is essential in war; in love, you will tell me, perhaps the case may be otherwise. I have still in contemplation to return to France, soon after my arrival in America, for I have the most ardent desire to give the court, the nation, and my friends, further proof of my gratitude, by my services in the glorious cause of Freedom, that France has so nobly espoused in concert with America. The singular honours I have lately received from the king have made the deepest and most lasting impression on my heart, and it shall be my constant care to deserve the continuance of his majesty's esteem."

The Alliance might certainly have been stopped, but Jones was always desirous of preventing any contention between the Americans and the French. "My having prevented this scene of horror has been, I am persuaded, no small disappointment to the wicked hearts and empty heads of Captain Landais's two principal advisers; such a scene would have been an excellent ground of argument for the tools of England."

"The brave men who so gloriously served with me in the Bon Homme Richard are now confined as prisoners in the hold of the Alliance, and treated with every mark of indignity. I had destined them to complete a crew for the Ariel and have demanded them in vain for that purpose. I cannot see where all this will end, but surely it must fall dreadful on the heads of those who have stirred up this causeless mutiny. For my own part, I shall make no other remark, than that I never directly nor indirectly sought after the command of the Alliance; but after having, in obedience to orders, commanded her for seven months, and after Mr. Lee had made a written application to me as commander of that ship for a passage to America, I am at a loss what name to give Mr. Lee's late conduct and duplicity in stirring up a mutiny in favour of the man, who was at first sent to America contrary to Mr. Lee's opinion by Mr. Dean, and who is actually under arrest by an order of his sovereign. What gives me the greatest pain is, that after I had obtained from government the means of transporting to

America under a good protection the arms and clothing I have already mentioned, Mr. Lee should have found means to defeat my intentions. I thank God I am of no party and have no brothers nor relations to serve. You will bear me witness, my worthy friend, that I never asked a favour for myself from Congress; for you have seen all my letters and know that I never sought any indirect influence, though my ambition to act an eminent and useful part in this glorious revolution is unbounded. I pledge myself to you and to America, that my zeal receives new ardour from the oppositions it meets with, and I live but to overcome them and to prove myself no mock patriot, but a true friend to the rights of human nature upon principles of disinterested philanthropy. Of this I have already given some proofs, and I will give more. Let not therefore the virtuous senate of America be misled by the insinuations of fallen ambition. Should any thing be said to my disadvantage, all I ask is, a suspension of judgment until I can appear before Congress to answer for myself. I repeat that I

am determined to steer clear of party and to keep within my line of duty as an officer."

"I am convinced," he says to Mr. Morris, "that Mr. Lee has acted in this matter merely because I would not become the enemy of the venerable, the wise and good Franklin, whose heart and head will always do honour to human nature. I know the great and good in this kingdom better, perhaps, than any other American who has appeared in Europe since the treaty of alliance; and if my testimony would add anything to Franklin's reputation, I could witness the universal veneration and esteem with which his name inspires all ranks, not only at Versailles and all over this kingdom, but also in Spain and in Holland, and can aver from the testimony of the first characters of other nations, that as to him, envy itself is dumb when the name of Franklin is but mentioned."

Before he sailed in the Ariel, Jones furnished the Count de Vergennes with some hints as to their future proceedings.

"It is absolutely necessary, my Lord, to de-

stroy the foreign commerce of the English, especially their trade to the Baltic, from whence they draw all their supplies for their marine. It is equally necessary to alarm their coasts, not only in their colonies abroad, but in their islands at home. These things would distress and distract the enemy much more than many battles between fleets of equal force. England has carried on the war against America in a far more barbarous manner than she durst have adopted against any power of Europe. America has the right to retaliate, and by our having the same language and customs with the enemy, we are in a situation to surprize their coasts and take such advantage of their unguarded situation, under the flag of America, as can never be done under the flag of France. This is not theory, but I have proved it by my experience, and if I have opportunity I will yet prove it more fully."

He writes to the Honourable William Carmichael, the American minister at Madrid, "there is, I understand, a board of admiralty at last appointed. This ought to have been done long

ago, and a general reform should have been made. But as we have now lost, I may say, all our navy, the Board will certainly know whom they employ in future. The affair of Charleston is too bad in any light in which I have yet heard of its being placed. I mean with respect to the defence by sea; as to the defence by land, or the wisdom or folly of suffering the troops to be cooped up in the town, I shall not pretend to judge."

In September, 1780, Jones sailed. His last letter was to a lady, Madame D'Ormoy.

"I cannot leave France without expressing how much I feel myself honoured and obliged by the generous attention that you have shewn to my reputation in your journal. I will ever have the most ardent desire to merit the spontaneous praise of beauty and her pen; and it is impossible to be more grateful than I am for the very polite attentions I lately received at Paris and Versailles. My particular thanks are due to you, madam, for the personal proofs I had received of your esteem and friendship, and for the happiness you procured me in the society of the charming

countess, and other ladies and gentlemen of your circle. But I have a favour to ask of you, madam, which I hope you will grant me. You tell me in your letter, that the inkstand I had the honour to present you, as a small token of my esteem, shall be reserved for the purpose of writing what concerns me; now, I wish you to see my idea in a more expanded light, and would have you make use of that inkstand to instruct mankind, and support the dignity and rights of human nature."

The Ariel, however, met with a tremendous storm, and was forced to put back and refit.

"By the enclosed declaration of my officers," he writes the same lady, "you will see, my dear madam, that I was in a ticklish situation in the moment while you were employed in writing to me the 9th ultimo. It is impossible to be more sensible than I am of the obligation conferred on me by your attentions and kind remembrance, joined to that of the belle comtesse, your fair daughters, and the amiable ladies and gentlemen of your society. I have returned without laurels; and, what is worse, without having been able to

render service to the glorious cause of liberty. I know not why Neptune was in such anger, unless he thought it an affront in me to appear on his ocean with so insignificant a force. It is certain, that till the night of the 8th, I did not fully conceive the awful majesty of tempest and of shipwreck. I can give you no just idea of the tremendous scene that nature then presented, which surpassed the reach even of poetic fancy and the pencil. I believe no ship was ever before saved from an equal danger off the point of the Penmark rocks. I am extremely sorry that the young English lady you mention should have imbibed the national hatred against me. I have had proofs that many of the first and finest ladies of that nation are my friends. Indeed I cannot imagine why any fair lady should be my enemy; since upon the large scale of universal philanthropy, I feel, acknowledge, and bend before the sovereign power of beauty. The English nation may hate me; but *I will force them to esteem me too.* You have heard, no doubt, that Captain

Landais, and all the officers of the Alliance, have been laid under arrest, by order of Congress, on their arrival in America, and the command of the Alliance was given to the brave Captain Barry."

CHAPTER VII

Jones arrives in America—Order of Congress—Resolutions of Congress—Appointed to the America—Hints for a naval system—Appointed agent for European prize-money—Returns to France.

JONES arrived in the United States early in the year 1781. Mr. Lee, however, and Landais, had arrived before him; and Jones immediately received an order from the Congress to answer forty-seven interrogatories. These were all relative to the events which had occurred during his residence in Europe.

He delivered, in due course, the letter of the French ambassador; and it is singular, that although the forty-seven interrogatories were, of course, yet unanswered, the Congress immediately passed the following resolutions:

IN CONGRESS, February, 1781.

"Resolved, That the Congress entertain a high sense of the distinguished bravery and military conduct of John Paul Jones, Esq. Captain in the Navy of the United States, and particularly in his victory over the British ship Scrapis, on the

coast of England, which was attended with circumstances so brilliant as to excite general applause and approbation.

"Resolved, That the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the Court of Versailles communicate to his Most Christian Majesty the high satisfaction Congress have received from the conduct and gallant behaviour of Captain Paul Jones, having merited the attention and approbation of his Most Christian Majesty, and that his Majesty's offer of investing Captain Jones with a cross of Military Merit is highly acceptable to Congress."

The answers to the forty-seven interrogatories, and which indeed are a short history of the most active part of Jones's life, were sent in in less than a week after the order had been transmitted to him. After a perusal of them, the matter does not seem to have been proceeded in. The complaints of Lee and Landais were most probably a *ruse*, to make the just complaints of Jones appear in the odious and questionable light of a *counter accusation*. In this, however, they were disappointed. Jones soon perceived that Mr. Lee was not disinclined to escape from the controversy which his imprudent patronage of Landais seemed threatening to entail upon him. Landais, his tool, was very quietly shelved; and Mr. Arthur Lee was one of the very committee who recommended,

in a few weeks after, Paul Jones to Congress as the most proper person to command the America, the first seventy-four, which it was intended should launch from the Dock-Yard of the United States. Accordingly, in the month of June, Jones was unanimously elected by Congress to this command.

Jones was occupied in superintending the construction of this ship for upwards of sixteen months. His attention was now again recalled to the state of the American navy; and he accordingly drew up a memorial upon this subject, which he transmitted to the minister of marine. We make some extracts from it, which will be found to be exceedingly interesting, and not merely to our naval officers.

"The beginning of our navy, as navies now rank, was so singularly small, that, I am of opinion, it has no precedent in history. Was it a proof of madness in the first corps of sea officers to have, at so critical a period, launched out on the ocean with only two armed merchant ships, two armed brigantines, and one armed sloop, to make war

against such a power as Great Britain? To be diffident is not always a proof of ignorance. I had sailed before this revolution in armed ships and frigates, yet, when I came to try my skill, I am not ashamed to own I did not find myself perfect in the duties of a first lieutenant. If midnight study and the instruction of the greatest and most learned sea officers, can have given me advantages, I am not without them. I confess, however, I have yet to learn; it is the work of many years study and experience to acquire the high degree of science necessary for a great sea officer. Cruising after merchant ships, the service in which our frigates have generally been employed, affords, I may say, no part of the knowledge necessary for conducting fleets and their operations. There is now, perhaps, as much difference between a battle between two ships, and an engagement between two fleets, as there is between a duel and a ranged battle between two armies. The English, who boast so much of their navy, never fought a ranged battle on the ocean before the war that is now ended. The

battle off Ushant was, on their part, like their former ones, irregular; and Admiral Keppell could only justify himself by the example of Hawke in our remembrance, and of Russel in the last century. From that moment the English were forced to study, and to imitate, the French in their evolutions. They never gained any advantage when they had to do with equal force, and the unfortunate defeat of Count de Grasse was owing more to the unfavourable circumstances of the wind coming a-head four points at the beginning of the battle, which put his fleet into the order of echiquier when it was too late to tack, and of calm and currents afterwards, which brought on an entire disorder, than to the admiralship or even the vast superiority of Rodney, who had forty sail of the line against thirty, and five three-deckers against one. By the account of some of the French officers, Rodney might as well have been asleep, not having made a second signal during the battle, so that every captain did as he pleased."

"The English are very deficient in signals, as

well as in naval tactic. This I know, having in my possession their present fighting and sailing instructions, which comprehend all their signals and evolutions. Lord Howe has, indeed, made some improvements by borrowing from the French. But Kempenfelt, who seems to have been a more promising officer, had made a still greater improvement by the same means. It was said of Kempenfelt, when he was drowned in the Royal George, England has lost her du Pavillion. That great man, the Chevalier du Pavillion, commanded the Triumphant, and was killed in the last battle of Count de Grasse. France lost in him one of her greatest naval tacticians, and a man who had, besides, the honour (in 1773) to invent the new system of naval signals, by which sixteen hundred orders, questions, answers and informations can, without confusion or misconstruction, and with the greatest celerity, be communicated through a great fleet. It was his fixed opinion that a smaller number of signals would be insufficient. A captain of the line at this day must be a tactician. A captain of a cruising

frigate may make shift without ever having heard of naval tactics. Until I arrived in France, and became acquainted with that great tactician Count D'Orvilliers, and his judicious assistant the Chevalier du Pavillion, who, each of them, honoured me with instructions respecting the science of governing the operations, &c. of a fleet, I confess I was not sensible how ignorant I had been, before that time, of naval tactics."

Jones then proceeds to inquire into the propriety of limiting the *grades* as adopted in all navies; and, after some remarks upon the mischief which had accrued already to the American navy from this limitation, he continues—

"From the observations I have made, and what I have read, it is my opinion, that in a navy there ought to be at least as many grades below a captain of the line, as there are below a colonel of a regiment. Even the navy of France is deficient in subaltern grades, and has paid dearly for that error in its constitution, joined to another of equal magnitude, which authorizes ensigns of the navy to take charge of watch on board ships of the

line. One instance may be sufficient to shew this. The Zélé in the night between the 11th and 12th of April, 1782, ran on board the Ville de Paris, which accident was the principal cause of the unfortunate battle that ensued next day, between Count de Grasse and Admiral Rodney. That accident in all probability would not have happened, had the deck of the Zélé been at the time commanded by a steady experienced lieutenant of the line, instead of a young ensign. The charge of the deck of a ship of the line should, in my judgment, never be intrusted to an officer under twenty-five years of age. At that time of life he may be supposed to have served nine or ten years, a term not more than sufficient to have furnished him with the necessary knowledge for so great a charge. It is easy to conceive that the minds of officers must become uneasy, when they are continued too long in any one grade, which must happen (if regard be paid to the good of the service) where there are no more subaltern grades than midshipman and lieutenant. Would it not be

wiser to raise young men by smaller steps and to increase the number?"

"I have many things to offer respecting the formation of our navy, but shall here limit myself to one, which I think a preliminary to the formation and establishment of a naval constitution suitable to the local situation, resources and prejudices of this continent. The constitution adopted for the navy in the year 1775, and by which it has been governed ever since, and crumbled away, I may say, to nothing, is so very defective, that I am of opinion it would be difficult to spoil it. Much wisdom, and more knowledge than we possess, is, in my humble opinion, necessary to the formation of such a naval constitution as is absolutely wanting. If, when our finances enable us to go on, we should set out wrong, as we did in the year 1775, but much more so after the arrangement or rather derangement of rank in 1776, much money may be thrown away to little or no purpose. We are a young people, and need not be ashamed to ask advice from nations older and more experienced in marine affairs than ourselves.

This, I conceive, might be done in a manner that would be received as a compliment by several or perhaps all the marine powers of Europe, and at the same time would enable us to collect such helps as would be of vast use when we come to form a constitution for the creation and government of our marine, the establishment and police of our dock-yards, academies, hospitals, &c. &c. and the general police of our seamen throughout the continent. These considerations induced me, on my return from the fleet of his excellency the Marquiz de Vaudreuil, to propose to you to lay my ideas on the subject before Congress, and to propose sending a proper person to Europe in a handsome frigate to display our flag in the ports of the different marine powers, to offer them the free use of our ports and propose to them commercial advantages, &c., and then to ask permission to visit their marine arsenals, to be informed how they are furnished both with men, provision, materials, and warlike stores,—by what police and officers they are governed, how and from what resources the officers and men are

paid, &c.—the line of conduct drawn between the officers of the fleet and the officers of the ports, &c.—also the armament and equipment of the different ships of war, with their dimensions, the number and qualities of their officers and men, by what police they are governed in port and at sea, how and from what resources they are fed, clothed and paid, &c., and the general police of their seamen, and academies, hospitals, &c. &c. If you still object to my project on account of the expense of sending a frigate to Europe and keeping her there till the business can be effected, I think it may be done, though, perhaps, not with the same dignity, without a frigate. My plan for forming a proper corps of sea officers is, by teaching them the naval tactics in a fleet of evolution. To lessen the expense as much as possible, I would compose that fleet of frigates instead of ships of the line, on board of each I would have a little academy, where the officers should be taught the principles of mathematics and mechanics, when off duty. When in port, the young officers should be obliged to attend the academies

established at each dock-yard, where they should be taught the principles of every art and science that is necessary to form the character of a great sea officer. And every commission officer of the navy should have free access and be entitled to receive instruction gratis at those academies. All this would be attended with no very great expense, and the public advantage resulting from it would be immense. I am sensible it cannot be immediately adopted, and that we must first look about for ways and means; but the sooner it is adopted the better. We cannot, like the ancients, build a fleet in a month, and we ought to take example from what has lately befallen Holland. In time of peace it is necessary to prepare, and be always prepared for war by sea. I have had the honour to be presented with copies of the signals, tactics, and police; that have been adopted under the different admirals of France and Spain during the war, and have in my last campaign seen them put in practice. While I was at Brest, as well as while I was inspecting the building of the America, as I had furnished

myself with good authors, I applied much of my leisure time to the study of naval architecture, and other matters that relate to the establishment and police of dock-yards, &c. I, however, feel myself bound to say again, I have yet much need to be instructed."

Jones was not, however, destined to command the America. The Magnifique, a seventy-four belonging to the French fleet, was lost during the autumn of 1782 in the harbour of Boston, and Congress, being desirous of testifying to the French king the sense they entertained "of his generous exertions in behalf of the United States," presented him with the America then finished. Before other employment could be found for Jones, the independence of the United States was acknowledged by Great Britain.

At the end of the year 1783, Jones returned to France, having been appointed by Congress agent of America for European prize-money.

CHAPTER VIII.

The French prize money—La Perouse—Madame de T.—The Algerines—Jones returns to America—Resolutions of Congress—The gold medal—Letter of the American Congress to the French King—Danish claim—Consequences of non-recognition—Memorial of Dr. Franklin—Jones arrives at Copenhagen.

Before Jones arrived in France, M. de Sartine had quitted his situation as minister of marine. —This circumstance was by no means favourable to one of the principal objects of Jones's mission, which was to obtain the residue of the prize-money due from the court of France to the last squadron which he had commanded. M. Roy de Chaumont, the naval commissary of that squadron, who had already given the Americans much trouble, did not neglect the opportunity which the absence of M. de Sartine afforded him. He insisted, that as the cost of the enterprize had been defrayed by the treasury of France, the distribution of the prize-money ought to be made in

pursuance of the provisions of the ordinances of the kingdom, and that a deduction ought accordingly to be made of *four deniers per livre* for the benefit of the Hospital of Invalids at Paris.

Jones, however, was not daunted by the objections of M. de Chaumont. He would correspond with no one upon the subject except the Marechal de Castries, the new minister of marine, himself. His letters to the minister were very energetic and very frequent. "M. Chardon," he writes to the Marechal, "has just now put into my hands a letter written to your Excellency by M. le Roy de Chaumont, dated at Passy, the 9th current. M. le Roy de Chaumont appears by that letter to insinuate, that I was under his orders. That insinuation merits nothing but my contempt. He might as well pretend that the Marquis de la Fayette, with whom I had the honour to be joined in command for an important expedition, (which failed only through the unwise confidence that had been placed in the secrecy of M. Roy de Chaumont by the minister of marine,) was also under his orders. For my own part, as

I had served with reputation in America from the beginning of the war, and was, through Mr. Franklin, in consequence of the high opinion the minister had of my bravery and good conduct, &c. invited by the government to remain in Europe to command secret expeditions, with a force at the expense of the king, but under the commission, laws and flag of the United States, I made it a condition that I should receive orders only from the minister or ministers of Congress; and while I remained in Europe I never received any other. I had, before that time, declined to accept a captain's commission in the royal navy, which Count D'Orvilliers had offered to procure for me; and at any time, and in every situation, I would have disdained to have prostituted my honour under the orders of so light headed a man as M. le Roy de Chaumont. He seems to claim also the idea of intercepting the British Baltic fleet!

"M. le Roy de Chaumont seems to be ignorant that the American agent in Holland had, and can have, no power whatever over the property of the captors. It is a power which even

Congress has not reserved, and which is contrary to the established laws of the American navy. As to deducting from the prize money four deniers per livre for the Hospital of Invalids at Paris, because the expense of the armament I commanded was taken out of the funds of the royal navy; I presume M. le Roy de Chaumont might, with more modesty, have spared that observation to your Excellency. It is certain that the government of France foresaw that an expense would attend the armament I was so generously invited to command under the laws and flag of America, and it is not my place, much less that of such a man as M. le Roy de Chaumont, to intrude such pitiful observations as may militate against or may diminish the value of such delicate acts of friendship between two allied nations."

M. de Chaumont afterwards made some claim for expenses incurred in maintaining the prisoners. Jones had been informed by Franklin, that many of these prisioners had not been exchanged by the court of France for American prisoners in England. Jones writes to the Marechal, " I will

not now complain, that the prisoners which I took and carried into Holland were not exchanged for Americans, who had been taken in war upon the ocean, and were long confined in English dungeons by civil magistrates, as *traitors, pirates* and *felons*. I will only say, *I had such a promise* from the minister of marine. It was all the reward I asked for the anxious days and sleepless nights I passed, and the many dangers I encountered, in the glad hope of giving them *all* their liberty; and, if I had not been assured that Mr. Franklin had made an unfailable arrangement with the courts of France and England for their immediate redemption, nothing but a superior force should have wrested them out of my hands till they had been actually exchanged for the unhappy Americans in England."

The claim of the four deniers was relinquished. But the diligent M. de Chaumont soon founded another cause of deduction on the score of the expenses which had been incurred by the stay of the squadron at the Texel. Jones wrote an eloquent and most acute letter to the Marechal: his final

observation was unanswerable. "Permit me, my lord, to conclude by saying, that no equal expense in the war was made with so great effect, or had such good consequences, as that made by the ships I commanded in the Texel, since Holland was thereby drawn into the war, without which the world would not have been this day at peace."

No person ever possessed the faculty of extracting an answer from an unwilling minister in greater perfection than Paul Jones. All diplomatic subterfuges sunk before his successful ardour. In pursuing a grand object, it was his precept that every one could assist, and the friends of friends, and the acquaintances of acquaintances, were enlisted in his service. He, himself, was never absent when it was possible to meet with the uncomplying party; and letters, eloquent and unanswerable, appealing to the justice of his request, the dignity of the granting party, or the services of the petitioner, sought an access when their writer could not personally enforce their purport. The ladies of the court were always enlisted in his favour, and plans for secret expe-

ditions, and applications for prize money, were often supported by softer eloquence than usually pleaded in the official audiences of Castries and de Sartine. In the present instance, it appears to have been very much the inclination of the French minister to have withheld the object of Jones's prayer, but "after two years wasted," and "much expense of time and trouble," something less than two hundred thousand livres were obtained.

Jones writes to Mr. Jefferson in July, 1785, "I have the honour to inclose and submit to your consideration, the account I have stated of the prize-money in my hands, with sundry papers that regard the charges. I cannot bring myself to lessen the dividend of the American captors by making any charge either for my time or trouble. I lament that it has not yet been in my power to procure for them, advantages as solid and as extensive as the merit of their services. I would not have undertaken this business from any views of private emolument that could have possibly resulted from it to myself, even supposing

I had recovered or should recover a sum more considerable than the penalty of my bond. But I was anxious to force some ill natured persons to acknowledge that, if they did not tell a wilful falsehood, they were mistaken when they asserted that I had commanded a squadron of privateers. And, the war being over, I made it my first care to shew the brave instruments of my success that their rights are as dear to me as my own. It will, I believe, be proper for me to make oath before you to the amount charged for my ordinary expenses. I flatter myself that you will find no objection to the account as I have stated it, and that you are of opinion that, after this settlement has been made between us, my bond ought to stand cancelled as far as regards my transactions with the court of France. Should any part of the prize-money remain in the treasury, without being claimed, after sufficient time shall be elapsed, I beg leave to submit to you, to the treasury and to Congress, whether I have not merited by my conduct since I returned to Europe that such remainder should be disposed of in my favour?"

Dr. Franklin had resigned his situation as minister plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris in 1784, and had been succeeded by Mr. Jefferson. Jones was unknown to this gentleman on his arrival at Paris, but the minister soon appreciated the quality of his mind, and it was not long before their official communications were changed into confidential correspondence. When at L'Orient, in October, 1785, Mr. Jefferson had written to Jones for information respecting the expedition of discovery which was then about to sail under La Pérouse. As the subject cannot fail to be interesting to the reader, I shall give the effect of Jones's inquiries, as contained in his answer to the American minister.

"The following is the best information I am able to give you, in compliance with the letter, dated at Paris the 3d of August, 1785, which you did me the honour to address me at L'Orient.

"The Boussole and the Astrolabe, two gabarts of 600 tons each, sheathed with copper and equipped in the best manner, sailed from Brest

the 1st of August, 1785, under the command of M. de la Pérouse and the Viscount de Langle, captains in the royal navy. They had on board a great variety of trees, plants and seeds, that suit the climate of France; manufactures in linen, woollen and cotton, and in iron and copper, &c. &c.; mechanical tools of all sorts; a great quantity of trinkets and toys; ploughs, and all sorts of utensils and implements for agriculture, and a quantity of unwrought iron. Each ship had on board a large shallop in frames, and a million of French livres in the coins of different nations. Each ship had also on board twenty-one soldiers, draughted from the two regiments at Brest, all of whom were either mechanics or farmers. They had on board no women; nor any animals, except such as appeared to be destined for the refreshment of the crews. The crew of each ship is one hundred men, including officers and men of genius. The king himself planned the expedition, and made out all the details with his own hand, before he spoke a word of it to any person. His

majesty defrays the expense of it out of his private coffer, and is his own minister in everything that regards the operation of his plan. There is no doubt but that the perfecting of the geography of the southern hemisphere is one of his majesty's objects in view: and it is not difficult to perceive, that he has others equally worthy the attention of a great prince; one of which may be, to extend the commerce of his subjects by establishing factories, at a future day, for the fur trade, on the north-west coast of America; and another, to establish colonies in New Holland, after having well explored the coast, and made experiments on the soil of that vast island, which is situated in so happy a climate, and so contiguous to the establishments of France in the East Indies."

The following extract of a letter from Jones to the same gentleman will perhaps prove interesting.

"I am much obliged to you for the letter from Madam T——, which you forwarded by the June packet. I now take the liberty to inclose a letter

for that worthy lady; and, as I had not the happiness to introduce you to her, (because I wished her fortune to have been previously established,) I shall now tell you, *in confidence*, that she is the daughter of the late king, and of a lady of quality, on whom his majesty bestowed a very large fortune on his daughter's account. Unfortunately the father died while the daughter (his great favourite) was very young; and the mother has never since shewn her either justice or natural affection. She was long the silent victim of that injustice; but I had the pleasure to be instrumental in putting her in a fair way to obtain redress. His present majesty received her last year with great kindness. He gave her afterwards several particular audiences, and said, 'he charged himself with her fortune.' Some things were, as I have understood, fixed on, that depended solely on the king, and he said he would dictate the justice to be rendered by the mother. But the letter you sent me, left the feeling author all in tears! Her friend, her protectress, her introductress to the king was

suddenly dead! She was in despair! She lost more than a mother! A loss, indeed, that nothing can repair; for fortune and favour are never to be compared to tried friendship. I hope, however, she has gone to visit the king in July, agreeable to his appointment given her in the month of March. I am persuaded, that he would receive her with additional kindness, and that her loss would, in his mind, be a new claim to his protection; especially as he well knows, and has acknowledged, her superior merit and just pretensions. As I feel the greatest concern for the situation of this worthy lady, you will render me a great favour by writing her a note, requesting her to call on you, as you have something to communicate from me. When she comes, be so good as to deliver the within letter, and shew her this, that she may see both my confidence in you and my advice to her."

Jones, at the latter end of the year 1785, had transmitted information to the American govern-

ment of the hostile designs of the Algerines against the trade of the United States. A squadron of eight vessels were destined by the regency of Algiers to cruize from Cape St. Vincent to the Azores, and capture American vessels. "This event," said Jones, writing to Mr. Jefferson, "may, I believe, surprize some of our fellow citizens, but for my part, I am rather surprized that it did not take place sooner. It will produce a good effect if it unites the people of America in measures consistent with their national honour and interests, and rouses them from the ill judged security which the intoxication of success has produced since the revolution."

After having fulfilled the object of his mission to France, it was the intention of Jones immediately to have negociated the liquidation of a large claim preferred by his late squadron against the court of Denmark. How this claim originated we shall now mention; for what reason Jones postponed for a short time pursuing it, will be seen in the following letter:

To His Excellency John Jay, Esq. Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"New York, July 18th, 1787.

"SIR,

"The application I made for a compensation for our prizes through the Danish minister in London not having succeeded, it was determined between Mr. Jefferson and myself, that the proper method to obtain satisfaction was for me to go in person to the court of Copenhagen. It was necessary for me to see the Baron de Blome before I could leave France on that business, and he being absent on a tour in Switzerland, did not return to Paris till the beginning of last winter. I left Paris in the spring, and went as far as Brussels on my way to Copenhagen, when an unforseen circumstance in my private affairs rendered it indispensable for me to turn about and cross the ocean. My private business here being already finished, I shall in a few days re-embark for Europe, in order to proceed to the court of Denmark. It is my intention to go by the way of

Paris, in order to obtain a letter to the French minister at Copenhagen from the Count de Montmorin, as the one I obtained is from the Count de Vergennes. It would be highly flattering to me if I could carry a letter with me from Congress to his most Christian Majesty, thanking him for the squadron he did us the honour to support under our flag. And on this occasion, sir, permit me, with becoming diffidence, to recal the attention of my sovereign to the letter of recommendation I brought with me from the court of France, dated 30th May, 1780. It would be pleasing to me if that letter should be found to merit a place on the journals of Congress. Permit me also to entreat that Congress will be pleased to read the letter I received from the minister of marine, when his majesty deigned to bestow on me a golden hilted sword, emblematical of the happy alliance, an honour which his majesty never conferred on any other foreign officer. I owed the high favour I enjoyed at the court of France, in a great degree, to the favourable testimony of my conduct which had been communicated by his majesty's

ambassador, under whose eye I acted in the most critical situation, in the Texel, as well as to the public opinion of Europe. And the letter with which I was honoured by the prime minister of France when I was about to return to America, is a clear proof that we might have drawn still greater advantages from the generous disposition of our ally, if our marine had not been lost whilst I was, under perplexing circumstances, detained in Europe, after I had given the Count de Maurepas my plan for forming a combined squadron of ten or twelve sail of frigates, supported by the America, with a detachment of French troops on board, the whole at the expense of his majesty.

" It is certain that I am much flattered by receiving a gold sword from the most illustrious monarch now living, but I had refused to accept his commission on two occasions before that time when some firmness was necessary to resist the temptation. He was not my sovereign, I served the cause of freedom; and honours from any sovereign would be more pleasing. Since the year 1775, when I displayed the American flag for the

first time, with my own hands, I have been constantly devoted to the interests of America. Foreigners have, perhaps, given me too much credit, and this may have raised my ideas of my services above their real value; but my zeal can never be over-rated.

"I should act inconsistently if I omitted to mention the dreadful situation of our unhappy fellow-citizens in slavery at Algiers. Their almost hopeless fate is a deep reflection on our national character in Europe. I beg leave to influence the humanity of Congress in their behalf, and to propose that some expedient may be adopted for their redemption. A fund might be raised for that purpose by a duty of a shilling per month from seamen's wages throughout the continent, and I am persuaded that no difficulty would be made to that requisition.

I have the honour to be,

Sir, &c. &c.

PAUL JONES."

This letter was referred by the minister for

foreign affairs to the consideration of Congress, who ordered that Mr. Jay should prepare a report upon it. "As Congress," writes Jones again to Mr. Jay, "have now referred back to you, for your report, the chief part of the letter which I had the honour to address to you the 18th of July last, I beg leave to observe on the latter part of that letter, respecting the fund I wished to see established for the redemption of our fellow-citizens at Algiers, that I had also in view at the time, a national establishment on the plan of the Greenwich Hospital in England, or Hotel des Invalides at Paris, which would be effected from the residue of the increasing fund I have proposed. I beg you therefore, sir, to take notice of this in your report."

In a few days after this letter was written, an unanimous resolution was passed by Congress, "that a medal of gold should be struck and presented to the Chevalier J. Paul Jones, in commemoration of the valour and brilliant services of that officer." And "the honourable Mr. Jefferson, minister plenipotentiary of the United States

at the Court of Versailles, was desired to have the same executed with the proper devices." And a Resolution was also passed, "That a letter be written to his most Christian Majesty informing him, that the United States in Congress assembled had bestowed this medal upon the Chevalier J. Paul Jones, as well in consideration of the distinguished marks of approbation which his majesty had been pleased to confer upon that officer, as from a sense of his merits. And that as it is his earnest desire to acquire greater knowledge in his profession, it would be acceptable to Congress, that his majesty would be pleased to permit him to embark with his fleets of evolution, convinced that he can no where else acquire that knowledge which may hereafter render him more extensively useful. And the secretary for foreign affairs was ordered to prepare a letter to be signed by the president, and delivered to the Chevalier Jones."

With all these "blushing honours" Jones once more quitted America, with the following letter to the King of France.

To His Most Christian Majesty, Louis, King of France and Navarre.

GREAT AND BELOVED FRIEND!

We, the United States in Congress assembled, in consideration of the distinguished marks of approbation with which your majesty has been pleased to honour the Chevalier John Paul Jones, as well as from a sense of his merit, have unanimously directed a medal of gold to be struck and presented to him, in commemoration of his valour and brilliant services while commanding a squadron of French and American ships, under our flag and commission, off the coast of Great Britain, in the late war.

"As it is his earnest desire to acquire greater knowledge in his profession, we cannot forbear requesting of your majesty to permit him to embark in your fleets of evolution, where only it will be probably in his power to acquire that degree of knowledge which may hereafter render him more extensively useful.

"Permit us to repeat to your majesty, our sincere

assurances, that the various and important benefits for which we are indebted to your friendship will never cease to interest us in whatever may concern the happiness of your majesty, your family and people. We pray God to keep you, our great and beloved friend, under his holy protection.

"Done at the city of New York, the 16th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of our Sovereignty and Independence the 12th."

Jones's primary object on his return to Europe was, to pursue the Danish claim. I shall enter somewhat into detail respecting the nature of the circumstances in which this claim originated; for, from the present aspect of the political horizon, it is not improbable that the situation of the United States in this transaction may be that of many new governments now rising in other parts of the vast continent of America. If, indeed, they are similarly situated, it may not be unprofitable to them to be acquainted with the mode in

which such an exigency was treated by the practical wisdom of Franklin.

In the autumn of 1779, two English prizes were sent by Jones, then commanding the American squadron, into the port of Berghen, in Norway. These prizes were provided with "the munitions of war and merchandize, and bore commissions and letters of marque;" and carried, one twenty-two guns, and the other, twenty. They were of considerable value, being estimated at not less than one million of livres. The vessels had put into Berghen, on account of having experienced very bad weather, and being very much injured, and were manned with very small crews. The American officer, who commanded these prizes, brought written orders to the consul of France, who was directed by M. de Sartine to grant to the vessels and citizens of the United States the same services and assistance as to his own proper subjects.

The French consul immediately communicated with the officers of the Danish government, represented to them the intentions of the king, his

master, relative to the Americans, and solicited *that the same favour and protection should be shewn to the two prizes, as to vessels belonging to French subjects.* The vessels were allowed to stay under protection of the forts until the reception of orders from the court of Copenhagen.

The King of Denmark had not yet recognized the independence of the United States, but the Americans had reason to believe, that the court of Copenhagen, "following the example of many other maritime powers, would not refuse admittance, into its ports of Norway, to American vessels and their captures; and that the sale of prizes would be admitted, or that they would not notice it."

The two prizes in question were so weakly manned, that their crews had not sufficient force to work the ships, and it was therefore determined by the captors, to obtain permission to sell them.

The English minister at Copenhagen immediately demanded from the Danish government, the restoration of the two prizes; and, in spite of the French protection, and the influence of the

American agents, the King of Denmark granted an order for the restoration of the two prizes.

M. De Chezaulx, the French consul at Berghen, wrote to Dr. Franklin immediately after the receipt of this order, "an order unjust and contrary to the rights of nations."

"We are, Sir, in the greatest consternation; as nothing was less expected than such an event. I have the honour to forward you inclosed the translation of this singular resolution, which has been communicated to me, and what renders it more surprising to me is, that M. Cailliard, charge d'affaires of the king at Copenhagen, informed me by his letter of the 9th instant, that he had a conference with the Danish minister, but that he had not been able to obtain the solicited permission to sell the prizes, and that in consequence they were ordered to repair to sea. We see, that this minister had no knowledge of the resolution of that court of the 2d October, as he makes no mention of it. I remained always in the hope that, by means of this negotiation, we might gain some time, and that in the interval, the frigate Alliance, or

some other vessel belonging to Commodore Jones's squadron, might arrive at this port, when we should have been able to make arrangements in order to reinforce the crews of these prizes, so that they might have repaired to sea under convoy, or that I might at least have had time to receive your orders, without which I could do nothing, because by the written orders of Captain Landais, to the officer commanding the prize, they were ordered to bring them into Berghen. I could take nothing on myself.

"When these prizes arrived in the river, I was obliged to send them assistance, to work up to the city; and they could not in that situation return to sea, in case the authorities here had received orders to refuse them entrance into port. We counted also on having time to receive your orders, as I have already stated, for it was not presumed that the court of Denmark would take a resolution hostile to them; that which I looked for, could not have been even at the worst, but an order for them to return to sea, on the founda-

tion of not having yet recognised the independence of the United States.

"I purpose to send you, sir, by the next courier, a detailed memoir of my conduct in all that has been done relative to these prizes. I have caused your officers to protest against the violence which has been offered them, and to demand all damages and interests, in order that they might procure, in any way they thought best, a recompense for their considerable loss, and the satisfaction due to the United States. You will also receive, sir, this protest in good and due form.

"I have done all in my power to retard the operations of the Danish authorities, but could effect nothing; they have taken formal possession of the ships, their cargoes and their inventories, in the name of the King of Denmark, and delivered them to the English consul. I have required in justice, the payment of the expenses, amounting to 965 rix dollars, incurred on account of the said ships and of their crews. We will see what will be their decision.

"I have likewise demanded of the authorities, that as they have broken up the American crews, it was no more than justice, that they should provide for their subsistence, their passage, and to put them in a state to repair to their own country, but I have been able to obtain nothing. They leave to me the care of providing for them. These crews occasion a great deal of expense, I beg of you to inform me of your sentiments on this subject.

"The value of the two prizes, which they have so unjustly taken possession of, is at least £40,000 sterling, independent of expenses, and money disbursed by M. Dankert d'Krohn, banker; an account of which I will forward you.

"Time will shew us, sir, in what manner the court of Denmark will recover from the false and hazardous step which has been taken to the prejudice of the rights of man. There is perhaps a secret convention between Denmark and England, relative to American prizes; however, nothing has as yet transpired, and I am ignorant of it.

"The next courier will bring, perhaps, the same

order with regard to the prize the *Charming Polly;* I shall, however, use all my diligence to enable her to depart before it comes to the hands of the authorities, but there is now an appearance that they are disposed to prevent it. I shall have the honour to inform you, by the next courier, of the above, and of every thing that may appear to me to merit your attention.

"I have the honour, &c.

"DECHEZAULX.

"P. S. The English consul has no person to put on board the vessels; it will be necessary to procure them from England. I do not think they will be able to leave here before two, and perhaps three, months. We must endeavour to retake them."

Franklin immediately dispatched the following letter to the Prime Minister of Denmark:

"Passy, near Paris, Dec. 22, 1779.

SIR,

I HAVE received letters from M. de Chezaulx, consul of France at Bergen in Norway, acquainting me that two ships, viz. the Betsy and

the Union, prizes taken from the English, on their coast, by Captain Landais, commander of the Alliance frigate, appertaining to the United States of North America, which prizes having met with bad weather at sea, that had damaged their rigging and occasioned leaks, and being weakly manned, had taken shelter in the supposed neutral port of Bergen, in order to repair their damages, procure an additional number of sailors, and the necessary refreshments; that they were in the said port enjoying, as they conceived, the common rights of hospitality established and practised by civilized nations, under the care of the abovesaid consul, when, on the 28th of October last, the said ships, with their cargoes and papers, were suddenly seized by the officers of his majesty the King of Denmark, to whom the said port belongs, the American officers and seamen turned out of their possession, and the whole delivered to the English consul.

"M. de Chezaulx has also sent me the following, as a translation of his majesty's order, by which the above proceedings are said to be authorized,

viz. 'The English minister having insisted on the restitution of the two vessels captured by the American frigate the Alliance, Captain Landais, and which have been brought into Bergen, viz. the *Betsy* of Liverpool, and the *Union* of London, his majesty has granted the demand, on the ground that he has not yet recognized the independence of the colonies associated against England, and because the vessels could not be considered as good and lawful prizes; the two said vessels are therefore declared free, and have liberty to depart immediately with their cargoes.'

"By a subsequent letter from the same consul, I am informed that a third prize, belonging to the said United States, viz. the *Charming Polly*, which arrived at Bergen after the others, had also been seized and delivered up in the same manner, and that all the people of the three vessels, being thus stript of their property, (for every one of them had an interest in the prizes,) were turned on shore to shift for themselves, without money, in a strange place, no provision being made for their subsistence, or for sending them back to their

country. Permit me, sir, to observe, on this occasion, that the United States of America have no war but with the English. They have never done any hostile acts to other nations, particularly none to the Danish nation; on the contrary, they are in some degree its benefactors, as they have opened a trade of which the English made a monopoly, and of which the Danes may now have their share, and by dividing the British empire, have made it less dangerous to its neighbours. They conceived, that every nation whom they had not offended, was, by the rights of humanity, their friends; they confided in the hospitality of Denmark, and thought themselves and their property safe when under the roof of his Danish majesty. But they find themselves stript of that property, and the same given up to their enemies, on the principle only that no acknowledgment had yet been formally made by Denmark of the independence of the United States, which is to say, that there is no obligation of justice towards any nation, with whom a treaty promising the same had not been previously made. This was indeed the

doctrine of ancient barbarians; a doctrine long since exploded, and which it would not be for the honour of the present age to revive; and it is to be hoped, that Denmark will not, by supporting and persisting in this decision, obtained of his majesty apparently by surprise, be the first modern nation that shall attempt to revive it.*

"I beg leave, through your excellency, to submit these considerations to the wisdom and justice of his Danish majesty, whom I infinitely respect, and who, I am persuaded, will consider and repeal the order recited; and if the prizes, which I hereby reclaim in behalf of the United States of America, are not actually gone to England, they may be stopt and redelivered to M. de Chezaulx, the

* Les anciens (says Vattel, in his excellent treatise entitled "Le droit des gens,") ne se croyoient tenus à rien envers les peuples qui ne leur étoient unis par un traité d'amitié: enfin la voix de la nature se fit entendre aux peuples civilisés; ils reconnurent que tous les hommes étoient frères. An injustice of the same kind, done a century or two since, by some English in the East Indies, Grotius tells us, "ne manquoit pas de partisans, qui soutenoient que par les anciennes loix d'Angleterre ou ne punissoit point en ce royaume les outrages commis contre les étrangers quand il n'y point d'alliance contractée avec eux." But this principle he condemns in the strongest terms. *Hist. des Troubles des Pays Bas. Livre* XVI.

said consul of France at Bergen, in whose care they before were, with liberty to depart for America, when the season shall permit; but if they shall be already gone to England, I must then reclaim from his majesty's equity the value of the said three prizes, which is estimated at £50,000 sterling, but which may be regulated by the best information that can by any means be obtained.

(Signed) B. FRANKLIN,
Minister Plenipotentiary, &c."

The commercial interests of the court of Denmark disinclined them from acting hostilely towards the Americans; but the influence of the cabinet of England could not be withstood, and the prime minister of Denmark, deprecating, at the same time, the line of policy he was forced to pursue, and endeavouring to prevent extremities, sent the following confidential letter to Dr. Franklin. It is curious to see how studiously a prime minister in distress will "divest himself of all public character."

" Copenhagen, 8th March, 1780.

" SIR,

" Were you a man less known and less respected, I should have remained in doubt on the subject of the letter, which I had the honour to receive from you, and which did not arrive till the 31st of January. I should have looked upon it as a step calculated to throw us again into a new embarrassment, as painful as the former; but we can fear nothing, and risk nothing, with one so wise as you, sir, generally respected throughout that universe you have enlightened, and known by that predominant love for truth, which characterizes the great man, and the true philosopher. These are titles which will pass your name to the most distant posterity. I feel myself at this time more particularly interested in writing to you, as the situation of affairs requires me to divest myself of all public character, and to aspire only to appear to you, as I really am, the firm friend of peace, of truth, and of merit. This manner of thinking shews not only my personal sentiments towards yourself, but also those which I have re-

lating to the unfortunate affair, concerning which you have been pleased to write me, and which, from its commencement, has caused me the most sensible pain. You will, without doubt, agree with me, sir, that there are some situations in which it is impossible to please every one; you are too just, sir, not to consider ours. Persons would not remain satisfied in discovering, and would never pardon those who lead them into difficulties, if they did not sometimes provide occasions of being heard, and of preventing, for the future, all that might arise from such embarrassments. The Baron de Blome will speak with you on this subject, with the most entire confidence and frankness, and if my wishes can be fulfilled, I shall be amply recompensed for all my trouble. There only remains to me the agreeable recollection of having had the satisfaction of assuring you, from my own hand, of the high and perfect esteem with which

I have the honour to be, &c.

BERNSTORF."

"B. FRANKLIN, Esq."

The Baron de Blome, with all his "entire confidence and friendship," had, of course, nothing satisfactory to offer. Although the Danish minister was willing to satisfy the Americans, provided it cost him nothing, it was evident to the American plenipotentiary that the demand of his countrymen was not treated with that respect which it would have obtained, had it been backed by the threat of a fleet or an invasion. The observation of Franklin, upon this head, in a letter to Count Bernstorf, is worthy of his profound and venerable wisdom.

"The United States oppressed by, and in war with, one of the most powerful nations in Europe, may well be supposed incapable, in their present infant state, of exacting justice from other nations not disposed to grant it; but it is in human nature that injuries as well as benefits received in times of weakness and distress, national as well as personal, make deep and lasting impressions; and those ministers are wise, who look into futurity, and quench the first sparks of misunderstanding between two nations, which, neglected,

may in time grow into a flame, all the consequences whereof no human prudence can foresee, —which may produce much mischief to both, and cannot possibly produce any good to either."

This, it must be confessed, is very admirable. An ordinary diplomatist, in the situation of Franklin, would have made a vain boast of instant vengeance, and would have been despised. Franklin met the difficulty of his situation in a manner worthy of a philosophical politician. He "looked into futury," and conjuring up America in all the plenitude of statistical prosperity, he met the Danish minister on equal grounds, and threatened not only retributive vengeance, but national hatred.

The interests of an infant state are much more dependent upon the conduct of its representatives, than the interests of an ancient government. In the first instance, the actions of the representative are subject to the severest suspicion and the keenest scrutiny, because they are considered the first indications of the present temper and future conduct of the represented

authority. But the conduct of the representative of an old government is not the object of such interest; for, in this case, we do not form our general idea of the principles of the represented authority from the conduct of the representative, but from our knowledge of its history, and our experience of its past policy; just as we treasure up with anxiety the hap-hazard words of infancy, and deduce from the chance-prattling of the child the after-disposition of the man: while, on the other hand, many a significant speech uttered by a man passes unregarded, because our ideas, as to his character and capability, are already formed, and we associate him rather with his past conduct than with his present promise. We cannot, therefore, sufficiently admire the wisdom of Franklin, who, while he vindicated the dignity of his government, prevented its authority from being insulted in the face of Europe; nor should we withhold our tribute of applause from the American officer, who refrained from punishing his French coadjutor, that the English might not suspect that there were divisions in "the common

But to return to the Danish court. When the Independence of the American States was acknowledged by the mother-country, the Danish minister began to remember "how much it would be for the interest of Denmark and America to form, as speedily as possible, the strongest ties of amity and commerce." For reasons which are not very evident the Danish minister proceeded, in a very oblique manner, to consummate this much desired event. Count Rosencrone, the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, writes, at the beginning of 1783, to M. de Waltersdorf:

"Knowing you were about to make a tour through France, I could not refrain from strongly recommending to you to endeavour to gain, during your stay in Paris, as much as possible, the confidence and esteem of Mr. Franklin. You may remember, sir, what I mentioned to you, in our conversations, concerning the high estimation in which this minister was held by the ministers of the king. You have been a witness of the satisfaction with which we learned the glorious issue of the war, for the United States of America, and

how much we are persuaded it would be for the interest of both countries to form, as speedily as possible, the strongest ties of amity and commerce. Nothing certainly could be more agreeable to us, than to learn by your letters, that you found the same dispositions in Mr. Franklin; and then it appears to me, the best method to accelerate this new alliance would be to use, as a basis, the treaty between Congress and the States General; Mr. Franklin might then communicate to us his ideas on the changes or additions which he believes to be reciprocally useful in the treaty of commerce which Congress might form with us. We would answer, with readiness and frankness, to any overtures that might be made; and as soon as the changes agreed upon should have met the approbation of Congress, one of its accredited ministers, already in Europe, in order to gain time, might repair hither, with plenipotentiary powers, in order to conclude the treaty, leaving, on both sides, the more special articles for the negociation of those ministers who might be appointed to reside in each country."

M. de Watersdorf did not fail "to gain, during his stay at Paris, as much as possible, the confidence and esteem of Dr. Franklin;" and the American minister speedily communicated with Count Rosencrone.

"M. Waltersdorf has communicated to me a letter from your Excellency to him which affords me great pleasure, as it expresses in clear and strong terms the good disposition of your Court to form connexions of friendship and commerce with the United States of America. I am confident that the same good disposition will be found in the Congress, and having acquainted that respectable body with the purport of your letter, I expect a commission will soon be sent appointing some person in Europe, to enter into a treaty with his majesty the King of Denmark for the purposes desired. In the meantime, to prepare and forward the business as much as may be, I send for your Excellency's consideration, such a sketch as you mentioned, formed on the base of our treaty with Holland, on which I shall be glad to receive your Excellency's sentiments. And I

hope that this transaction when completed may be the means of producing and securing a long and happy friendship between our two nations.

"To smooth the way for obtaining this desirable end, as well as to comply with my duty, it becomes necessary for me on this occasion, to mention to your excellency, the affair of our three prizes, which, having during the war entered Bergen as a friendly and neutral port, where they might repair the damages they had suffered, and procure provisions, were, by an order of your predecessor in the office you so honourably fill, violently seized and delivered to our enemies. I am inclined to think it was an hasty act, procured by the importunities and misrepresentations of the British minister, and that your court could not on reflexion approve of it. But the injury was done, and I flatter myself that your Excellency will think with me that it ought to be repaired. The means and manner I beg leave to recommend to your Excellency's consideration."

Franklin's receipt "to smooth the way" seems to have produced a very contrary effect; for the

Danish minister was quite frightened at the very mention of the subject; and the formation between the two countries of the strongest ties of amity and commerce seems to have been postponed, *sine die*.

In 1785, Jones, in virtue of the general authority with which he had been invested, to collect all the European prize-money due to Americans, turned his attention to the reclamation from Denmark of the value of the ships sent into Bergen. The Baron de Waltersdorf was then the Danish minister to the court of London, and Jones, having reason to believe that his object might be accomplished by an application to that minister, endeavoured, through the medium of Mr. Adams, the American minister in England, to obtain a favourable decision from that nobleman. Before the letter arrived, De Walterdorf had sailed for the West Indies, and Mr. Adams advised Jones "to apply to the Danish minister at the court of France, for the foreign ministers at the court of Versailles have less weight upon their spirits, in all things relating to America, than

those of London. Cash, I fancy, is not an abundant article in Denmark, and your claim has probably delayed or suspended all negotiations with Mr. Jefferson and me respecting a commercial treaty, for which, three years ago, there was no little zeal. This, however, is only conjecture in confidence."

In this year, Jones had his bust taken by Houdon. "I received the kind note," he writes to Mr. Jefferson, "which you wrote me this morning on the occasion of receiving my bust. I offered it to you as a mark of my esteem and respect for your virtues and talents. It has been remarked by professed judges, that it does no discredit to the talent of M. Houdon, but it receives its value from your acceptance of it, with the assurance you give me of your particular esteem."

On the receipt of a letter from Mr. Adams, illness alone prevented Jones from immediately proceeding to Copenhagen; and at length, with a great number of letters of introduction from the first French nobility, with a special commission from Mr. Jefferson and some MS. notes by that

gentleman, on the laws of nations, and plentiful quotations from Grotius and Vattel, Jones set off for the capital of Denmark. His health, however, was very feeble, and indeed about this time, he complains almost constantly of indisposition.

He arrived at Copenhagen in March, 1788, and soon wrote to Mr. Jefferson.

"I have been so much indisposed, since my arrival here, the 4th, from the fatigue and excessive cold I suffered on the road, that I have been obliged to confine myself almost constantly to my chamber. I have kept my bed for several days; but I now feel myself better, and hope the danger is over. On my arrival, I paid my respects to the minister of France. He received me with great kindness; we went, five days ago, to the minister of foreign affairs. I was much flattered with my reception, and our conversation was long and very particular respecting America and the new constitution, of which I presented a copy. He observed, that it had struck him as a very dangerous power to make the president commander-in-chief: in other respects it appeared to please him much,

as leading to a near and sure treaty of commerce between America and Denmark. It was a day of public business, and I could not do more than present your letter. I shall follow the business closely. In a few days, when I am re-established in health, I am to be presented to the whole court, and to sup with the king. I shall after that be presented to all the corps diplomatique and other persons of distinction here; I am infinitely indebted to the attentions I receive from the minister of France. I made the inquiry you desired in Holland, and should then have written to you in consequence, had I not been assured, by authority *(M. Van Stophorst)* that I could not doubt, that letters had been sent you on the subject, that could not fail of giving your satisfaction. M. Van Stophorst was very obliging. At Hamburg I ordered the smoked beef you desired to be sent to you, to the care of the American agent at Havre de Grace; you have nothing to do but receive it, paying what little charges may be on it. My ill-health and fatigue on the road hindered me from preparing the ex-

tract of the engagement. When you see M. Littlepage I pray you to present my kind compliments. It is said here, that the empress confides the commerce of her fleet, that will pass the Sound, to Admiral Greg; and, that he means to call at an English port, to take provisions, &c. The Hamburg papers, I am told, have announced the death of Dr. Franklin. I shall be extremely concerned if the account prove true—God forbid!"

On the 18th of the same month he again wrote to the same minister.

"Yesterday, his excellency the Baron de La Houge, minister plenipotentiary of France at this court, did me the honour to present me publicly to his majesty, the royal family and chief personages at the royal palace here.

"I had a very polite and distinguished reception. The queen dowager conversed with me for some time, and said the most civil things. Her majesty has a dignity of person and deportment, which becomes her well, and which she has the secret to reconcile with great affability and ease. The

princess royal is a charming person, and the graces are so much her own, that it is impossible to see and converse with her without paying her that homage which artless beauty and good nature will ever command. All the royal family spoke to me except the king, who speaks to no person when presented. His majesty saluted me with great complaisance at first, and as often afterwards as we met in the course of the evening. The prince royal is greatly beloved and extremely affable; he asked me a number of pertinent questions respecting America. I had the honour to be invited to sup with his majesty and the royal family. The company at table (consisting of seventy ladies and gentlemen, including the royal family, the ministers of state and foreign ambassadors) was very brilliant. The death of Dr. Franklin seems to be generally believed. Every person I have spoken with at court laments the event as a misfortune to human nature. I have had a second conference with the minister of foreign affairs, but nothing is yet done. I will press him to con-

clude. In my last, I find I have put down as the third number 1205, instead of 1250.* I hope I have committed no other error; but I am so continually feasted, and have so many visits to pay and receive, that I have scarcely a moment to call my own, and the departure of the post does not now afford me the time necessary to compare the whole of my last."

Paul Jones to Mr. Jefferson.

"Copenhagen, March 20th, 1788.

"I embrace the occasion of a young gentleman, just arrived here express from St. Petersburg, and who sets out immediately express for Paris, to transmit you the foregoing copy of my last of the 18th. I have written to Norway, and expect a satisfactory answer. The minister of France is surprized to have had no orders from Versailles respecting me. I pray you, and so does he, to push that point immediately. The minister

* The correspondence was carried on in a cypher.

of foreign affairs will receive me on Saturday. Please to present my kind compliments to Littlepage. If there is anything new from that quarter, you will no doubt communicate it."

The same to the same.

"Copenhagen, March 25th, 1788.

"I propose to send the present, under cover, to Messrs. Nicholas and Jacob van Staphorst of Amsterdam; presuming you may be there by the time they will receive it. If you are not arrived, or fully expected to arrive there in a day or two, they will be requested to forward you my letter. My mission here is not yet at an end, but the minister has promised to determine soon, and I have written to claim that promise. Before you can receive this, Monsieur de Simolin will have informed you, that your proposal to him and his application on that idea have been well received. The matter is communicated to me here in the most flattering expressions, by a letter I have received from his excellency the Baron de

Krudener. There seems, however, to remain some difficulty respecting the letter of Monsieur de Simolin's proposal, though it is accepted in substance, with an appearance of great satisfaction. I find myself under the necessity of setting out for Petersburg, through Sweden, in a few days, instead of returning first, as was my wish and intention, to Paris. I hope in the meantime to receive a satisfactory answer, which I shall duly communicate to you. Your future letters for me you will please to send under cover to the minister of France at Petersburg, or rather deliver them to Monsieur de Simolin, to whom I tender my sincere and respectful thanks for his good offices; which I shall ever remember with pleasure and gratitude, and which I shall always be ambitious to merit. I esteem myself also much indebted to Mr. Littlepage, and I hope I may one day convince him how sensible I am of his friendly behaviour. I say nothing, at present, of your attachment, but my feelings do you justice."

The business particularly alluded to in this last letter, and for which Jones expresses himself so

gratefully, was a negociation which was then taking place, between M. de Simolin the Russian minister at Paris, and Mr. Jefferson, for the admission of Jones into the Russian naval service. The celebrated Catherine of Russia had invited the American commander to her capital with the most splendid promises of patronage. Mr. Jefferson originally proposed this plan to Jones, and the American minister was extremely anxious that his friend should accept his proposal.

The Danish government had pleaded in answer, to Jones's demand, the imperfection of his diplomatic powers.

Paul Jones to Count Bernstorf.

"Copenhagen, March 24th, 1788.

"From the act of Congress (the act by which I am honoured with a *gold medal)* I had the honour to shew your Excellency the 21st. of this month, as well as from the conversation that followed, you must be convinced that circum-

stances do not permit me to remain here; but that I am under the necessity, either to return to France or to proceed to Russia.—As the minister of the United States of America at Paris gave me the perusal of the packet he wrote by me, and which I had the honour to present to you on my arrival here, it is needless to go into any detail on the object of my mission to this court; which Mr. Jefferson has particularly explained. The promise you have given me, of a prompt and explicit decision, from this court, on the act of Congress of the 25th of October last, inspires me with full confidence. I have been very particular in communicating to the United States, all the polite attentions with which I have been honoured at this court; and they will learn with great pleasure the kind reception I had from you I felicitated myself on being the instrument to settle the delicate national business in question, with a minister who conciliates the views of the wise statesman with the noble sentiments and cultivated mind of the true philosopher and man of letters."

Paul Jones to Count Bernstorf.

"Copenhagen, March 30th, 1788.

"Your silence on the subject of my mission from the United States to this court, leaves me in the most painful suspense; the more so, as I have made your Excellency acquainted with the promise I am under to proceed as soon as possible to St. Petersburg. This being the ninth year, since the three prizes reclaimed by the United States were seized upon in the port of Bergen, in Norway, it is to be presumed, that this court has long since taken an ultimate resolution respecting the compensation demand made by Congress. Though I am extremely sensible of the favourable reception with which I have been distinguished at this court, and am particularly flattered by the polite attentions with which you have honoured me at every conference; yet I have remarked, with great concern, that you have never led the conversation to the object of my mission here. A man of your liberal

sentiments will not, therefore, be surprized, or offended at my plain dealing, when I repeat that I impatiently expect a prompt and categorical answer, in writing, from this court, to the act of Congress of the 25th of October last. Both my duty and the circumstances of my situation, constrain me to make this demand in the name of my Sovereign the United States of America; but I beseech you believe, that though I am extremely tenacious of the *honor* of the *American flag*, yet my personal interest in the decision I now ask would never have induced me to present myself at this court. You are too just, sir, to delay my business here; which would put me under the necessity to break the promise I have made to her Imperial Majesty, conformable to your advice."

Count Bernstorf to Paul Jones.

"Copenhagen, April 4th, 1788.

"SIR,

"You have requested of me an answer to the letter you did me the honour to remit me

from Mr. Jefferson, minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America, near his most Christian Majesty. I do it with so much more pleasure, as you have inspired me with as much interest as confidence, and this occasion appears to me favourable to make known the sentiments of the king my master, on the objects to which we attach so much importance. Nothing can be farther from the plans and the wishes of his majesty than to let fall a negociation, which has only been suspended in consequence of circumstances arising from the necessity of maturing a new situation, so as to enlighten himself on their reciprocal interests, and to avoid the inconvenience of a precipitate and imperfect arrangement. I am authorized, sir, to give you, and through you to Mr. Jefferson, the word of the king, that his majesty will renew the negociation for a treaty of amity and commerce in the forms already agreed upon, at the instant that the new Constitution (that admirable plan, so worthy of the wisdom of the most enlightened men) will have been adopted by the states, to which nothing more was

wanted to assure to itself a perfect consideration. If it has not been possible, sir, to discuss, definitively with you, neither the principal object nor its accessaries, the idea of eluding the question, or of retarding the decision, had not the least part in it. I have already had the honour to express to you, in our conversations, that your want of plenipotentiary powers from Congress, was a natural and invincible obstacle. It would be, likewise, contrary to the established custom, to change the seat of negociation, which has not been broken off, but only suspended, thereby to transfer it from Paris to Copenhagen.

"I have only one more favour to ask of you, sir, that you would be the interpreter of our sentiments in regard to the United States. It would be a source of gratification to me to think, that what I have said to you on this subject carries with it that conviction of the truth which it merits. We desire to form with them, connections, solid, useful, and essential; we wish to establish them on bases natural and immoveable. The momentary clouds, the incertitudes, which

the misfortunes of the times brought with them, exist no longer. We should no longer recollect it, but to feel in a more lively manner the happiness of a more fortunate period; and to shew ourselves more eager to prove the dispositions most proper to effect an union, and to procure reciprocally the advantages which a sincere alliance can afford, and of which the two countries are susceptible. These are the sentiments which, I can promise you, sir, on our part, and we flatter ourselves to find them likewise in America; nothing, then, can retard the conclusion of an arrangement, which I am happy to see so far advanced."

Paul Jones to Count Bernstorf.

"Copenhagen, April 5th, 1788.

"I pray your Excellency to inform me when I can have the honour to wait on you, to receive the letter you have been kind enough to promise to write me, in answer to the act of Congress of the 25th October last. As you have told

me that my want of plenipotentiary powers to terminate *ultimately* the business now on the carpet, between the court and the United States, has determined you to authorize the Baron de Blôme to negociate and settle the same with Mr. Jefferson at Paris, and to conclude, at the same time, an advantageous treaty of commerce between Denmark and the United States; my business here will of course be at an end, when I shall have received your letter, and paid you my thanks in person, for the very polite attentions with which you have honoured me."

Paul Jones to Mr. Jefferson.

"Copenhagen, April 8th, 1778.

"By my letters to the Count de Bernstorf, and his Excellency's answer, you see that my business here is at an end. If I have not finally concluded the object of my mission it is neither your fault nor mine. The powers I received are found insufficient, and you could not act otherwise than was prescribed in your in-

structions. Thus it frequently happens, that good opportunities are lost, when the supreme power does not place a sufficient confidence in the distant operations of public officers, whether civil or military. I have, however, the melancholy satisfaction to reflect, that I have been received and treated here with a distinction far above the pretensions of my public mission, and I felicitate myself sincerely on being, at my own expense, and even at the peril of my life, (for my sufferings from the inclemency of the weather, and my want of proper means to guard against it on the journey, were inexpressible; and I believe, from what I yet feel, will continue to affect my constitution,) the instrument to renew the negociation between this country and the United States, the more so, as the honour is now reserved for you, to display your great abilities and integrity, by the completion and improvement of what Dr. Franklin had wisely begun. I have done, then, what perhaps no other person would have undertaken under the same circumstances; and while I have the consolation to hope, that the United

States will derive solid advantages from my journey and efforts here, I rest perfectly satisfied, that the interests of the brave men I commanded will experience your parental attention, and that the American flag can lose none of its lustre, but the contrary, while its honour is confided to you. America being a young nation, with an increasing commerce, which will naturally create a navy, I please myself with the hope, that in the treaty you are about to conclude with Denmark, you will find it easy and highly advantageous to include certain articles for admitting America into the armed neutrality. I persuade myself before hand, that this would afford pleasure to the Empress of Russia, who is at the head of that noble and humane combination; and as I shall now set out immediately for St. Petersburgh, I will mention the idea to her Imperial Majesty, and let you know her answer.

"If Congress should think I deserve the promotion, that was proposed when I was last in America, and should condescend to confer on me the grade of rear-admiral from the day I took the

Serapis (23d Sept. 1779), I am persuaded it would be very agreeable to the Empress, who now deigns to offer me an equal rank in her service, although I never yet had the honour to draw my sword in her cause, nor to do any other act that could directly merit her imperial benevolence. While I express, in the warm effusion of a grateful heart, the deep sense I feel of my eternal obligation to you, as the author of the honourable prospect that is now before me, I must rely on your friendship to justify to the United States the important step I now take, conformable to your advice. You know that I had no idea of this new fortune, when I found that you had put it in train, before my last return to Paris from America. I have not forsaken a country that has had many disinterested and difficult proofs of my steady affection; and I can never renounce the glorious title of a *citizen of the United States.*

"It is true I have not the express permission of the Sovereignty to accept the offer of her Imperial Majesty; yet America is independent; is in perfect peace, and has no public employment for

my military talents. But why should I excuse a conduct which I should rather hope would meet with general approbation? In the latter part of the year 1782, Congress passed an act for my embarkation in the fleet of his Most Christian Majesty. And when, a few months ago, I left America to return to Europe, I was made the bearer of a letter to his Most Christian Majesty, requesting me to be permitted to embark in the fleets of evolution. Why did Congress pass those acts? to facilitate my improvement in the art of conducting fleets and military operations. I am then conforming myself to the views of Congress, but the roll allotted me is infinitely more high and difficult than Congress intended. Instead of receiving lessons from able masters in the theory of war, I am called to immediate practice, when I must command in chief, conduct the most difficult operations, be my own preceptor and instruct others. Congress will allow me some merit in daring to encounter such multiplied difficulties. The mark I mentioned of the approbation of that honourable body would

be extremely flattering to me in the career I am now to pursue, and would stimulate all my ambition to acquire the necessary talents to merit that and even greater favours at a future day. I pray you, sir, to explain the circumstances of my situation, and be the interpreter of my sentiments to the United States in Congress. I ask for nothing, and beg leave to be understood only as having hinted, what is natural to conceive, that the mark of approbation I mentioned could not fail to be infinitely serviceable to my views and success in the country where I am going.

"The 4th the Prince Royal sent me a messenger requesting me to come to his apartment. His royal highness said a great many civil things to me; told me the king thanked me for my attention and civil behaviour to the Danish flag, while I commanded in the European seas; and that his majesty wished for occasions to testify to me his personal esteem, &c. I was alone with the prince half an hour."

CHAPTER IX.

Jones arrives at St. Petersburg—Is appointed to the command of a division of the Liman Fleet.—Engagement with the Turks.—Invested with the order of St. Anne—Victory over the Turks.—Returns to St. Petersburg—His plans—Political intrigues—Returns to France, and dies.

WHEN Paul Jones accepted the proposal of the Empress Catherine, the Russians were at war with the Turks. In his interview with the Empress, the only stipulation that Jones made was "that he should not be condemned unheard." So expeditious was he in his movements, that we find him, in the month of June, 1788, writing to the Marquis de La Fayette from on board a Russian man of war in the Liman sea.

"On Board the Imperial Ship Wolodimer,
at anchor in the Liman sea, before Oczacoff.
June 15 (26), 1788.

"*My Dear General*
and Dear Friend.

"The kind letter you did me the honour to write to me on the 20th April was delivered to

me at St. Elizabeth, on my way here from St. Petersburg. It was very flattering for me to receive such a letter from a man I so much love and respect as I do and have long done the Marquis de La Fayette. You will yourself do justice to my sensibility for all your good offices and good intentions; so I need only say, I shall always be ambitious to merit the flattering compliment with which you honour me me by subscribing yourself my 'sincere friend.'

"I must tell you that Mr. Elliot (the same who fetched Dr. Lee's papers at Berlin) was furious when he found my business at Copenhagen; and that I was received with great distinction at court, and in all the best societies in Denmark. Every time I was invited to sup with the king, Elliot made an apology; he shut himself up for more than a month, and then left town. This occasioned much laughter: and, as he had shunned society from the time of my arrival, people said he had gone off in a fright! I hope Mr. Jefferson is satisfied with the train in which I left the Danish business. It would have been impossible for me to

have pushed it any farther, as I had not full power to conclude it finally.

"I went through Sweden to St. Petersburg. The advanced season did not permit me to return to Paris; the distance would have been too long through Germany; and Elliot had influenced the English to put difficulties in the way of my passage by the Baltic. I found the gulph of Bothnia barred with ice, and after making several fruitless attempts to cross it in a small open boat (about 30 feet long), I compelled the Swedish peasants to steer, as I directed them, for the gulph of Finland. After about 400 or 500 miles navigation I landed at Revel, and having paid the peasants to their satisfaction, I gave them a good pilot, with some provisions, to reconduct them to their home. My voyage was looked on as a kind of miracle, being what never had been attempted before, unless in large vessels.

"The Empress received me with a distinction the most flattering that perhaps any stranger can boast of on entering into the Russian service. Her majesty conferred on me immediately the

grade of rear-admiral. I was detained against my will a fortnight; and continually feasted at court and in the first society. This was a cruel grief to the English, and I own their vexation, which I believe was general in and about St. Petersburg, gave me no pain.

" I presented the Empress with a copy of the new American constitution. Her majesty spoke to me often about the United States, and is persuaded that the American revolution cannot fail to bring about others, and to influence every other government. I mentioned the armed neutrality, so honourably patronized by her majesty, and I am persuaded that no difficulty will be made about admitting the United States into that illustrious association, as soon as America shall have built some ships of war. I spoke of it to the Danish minister of foreign affairs, who seemed pleased with the idea. The United States have some commerce with Russia, which, perhaps, we may be able to increase. I should think whale oil, dried fish, spermaceti and rice, may be articles to suit the Russian market. If the Mediterranean

was not shut to the American flag, many articles might be supplied to the Russian fleet now destined for the Archipelago. I certainly wish to be useful to a country I have so long served. I love the people and their cause, and shall always rejoice when I can be useful to promote their happiness. I am glad that the new constitution will be, as you tell me, adopted by more than nine states. I hope, however, they will alter some parts of it; and particularly that they will divest the president of all military rank and command: for though General Washington might be safely trusted with such tempting power as the chief command of the fleet and army, yet depend on it, in some other hands it could not fail to overset the liberties of America.

"The president should be only the first civil magistrate; let him command the military with *the pen*, but deprive him of the power to draw his sword and lead them, under some plausible pretext, or under any circumstances whatever, to cut the throats of a part of their fellow-citizens, and make him the tyrant of the rest. These are not

my apprehensions alone, for I have mentioned them to many men of sense and learning since I saw you, and I have found them all of the same sentiment.

"What are you about, my dear general? are you so absorbed in politics as to be insensible to glory? That is impossible: quit then your divine Calypso, come here, and pay your court once more to Bellona, who you are sure will receive you as her favourite. You would be charmed with the Prince de Potemkin. He is a most amiable man, and none can be more noble minded. For the Empress, Fame has never yet done her justice. I am sure that no stranger, who has not known that illustrious character, ever conceived how much her majesty is made to reign over a great empire, to make people happy, and to attach grateful and susceptible minds.

"Is not the present a happy moment for France to declare for Russia? Would it not be a means to retrieve her dignity and to re-establish the affairs of Holland? What would England find to oppose such an alliance? Denmark is with

Russia, and Sweden ought surely to be with France. An alliance with Russia might be very advantageous and can never be dangerous to France. In these circumstances the Isles of Candia and Cyprus appear among the objects that ought to attract her attention. Perhaps they might be obtained, and the affairs of Holland re-established without the expense of a war; for it is a question if England and Russia would venture to make opposition. One sure advantage would result to France; I mean the breaking off her destructive treaty of commerce with England. Since the time of the assembly of notables, I have always thought, that the ministry that was then introduced ought to have seen the expediency of a war with England; to break the treaty of commerce and prevent the ruin of French manufactures; to obtain loans from Holland, and to render that republic for ever dependent on French protection, and above all, to unite the nation, and prevent the broils that have since ensued, by exciting a brave and patriotic people to support their national dignity.

"My motives are pure, and I am influenced only by the affection I feel for the two countries you love. Your known patriotism assures me, that if you can make my ideas useful, you will not fail to do it. My kind respects await Madame La Marquise, and I hope her interesting family is well. It would afford me great happiness to see or hear from you, and if you cannot favour us with a visit, I beg the favour of any news that may be interesting.

"PAUL JONES.

"P.S. Mr. Littlepage has arrived at the army of the Prince de Potemkin, and I expect to see him here in a few days. The Capitan Pacha has been beaten last week. This is a good beginning, and I hope we shall have greater success. The Count de Dumas was in the affair. To speak in our republican way, he is a gallant fellow, I marked him well. He has my esteem, and his fair mistress owes him twenty sweet kisses for his first effort. He keeps her picture always at his heart."

Paul Jones to Mr. Jefferson.

"On board the Wolodimer before Oczacoff, $\frac{\text{9th Sept.}}{\text{29th Aug.}}$ 1788.

"Some of my friends in America did me the honour to ask for my bust. I inclose the names of eight gentlemen, to each of whom I promised to send one. You will oblige me much, by desiring Mr. Houdon to have them prepared and packed up two and two; and if Mr. Short, to whom I present my respects, will take the trouble to forward them by good opportunities, via Havre de Grace, writing, at the same time, a few words to each of the gentlemen, I shall esteem it a particular favour. Before I left Copenhagen, I wrote to Mr. Amoureux, merchant at L'Orient, to dispose of some articles of mine in his hands and remit you the amount. I hope he has done it, and that his remittance may be sufficient to pay Mr. Houdon and the expense of striking the medal with which I am honoured by the United States. But, lest this should not turn

out as I expect, I have directed Dr. Bancroft to pay any draft of yours on him for my account, as far as four or five thousand livres. I shall want four gold medals as soon as the dies are finished. I must present one to the United States, another to the King of France, and I cannot do less than offer one to the Empress. As you will keep the dies for me, it is my intention to have some gold medals struck; therefore I beg you, in the meantime, not to permit the striking of a single silver or copper medal. I pray you to present one in the most respectful terms to Monsieur de Simolin. However my situation in Russia may terminate, I shall ever esteem myself under great obligation to him. I pray you to present my affectionate respects to the Count d'Estaign, and tell him I am infinitely flattered by the obliging things he has had the goodness to say of me during my absence. I admire him for his magnanimity, and it vexes me every time I reflect how little his bravery and patriotism have been rewarded by government. He is the only officer who served through the last war without promo-

tion or honour. It is his honour to be beloved by his nation, and to have deserved it. I send inclosed an extract of my Journal on my expedition from France to Holland in the year 1779, for the information of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. I trust, at the same time, more to your judgment than to theirs. There is a medalist who executed three medals for me in wax. One of them is the battle between the Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis. The position of the two ships is not much amiss; but the accessary figures are much too near the principal objects; and he has placed them to windward instead of being, as they really were, to leeward of the Bon Homme Richard and Serapis. I do not at this moment recollect the medalist's name;* but he lives on the third or fourth stage at a marble cutter's, almost opposite, but a little higher than your former house, Cul de Sac Rue Taitebout, and may be easily found. It would be of use to see the medal he has made, although it is by no means to be copied. I owe him a small sum, perhaps 200

* Renaud.

livres. I wish to know how much, that I may make an arrangement for paying. I have not comprehended in the extract of my Journal the extreme difficulties I met with in Holland, nor my departure from the Texel in the Alliance, when I was forced out by the Vice-Admiral Rhynst in the face of the enemy's fleet. The critical situation I was in in Holland needs no explanation, and I shall not say how much the honour of the American flag depended on my conduct, or how much it affected all the belligerent powers. I shall only say, it was a principal cause of the resentment of England against Holland, and of the war that ensued. It is for you and the Academy to determine, whether that part of my service ought to be the subject of one side of the medal."

The same to the same.

"Before Oczakoff, Sept. 16 (26) 1788.

"Mr. Littlepage has postponed his departure. I expected him to remain with me till the end of the campaign, but he now sets out so

suddenly, that I cannot send by him the extract of my journal in 1779. I will send it in a week or two to my friend, the Count de Segur, at St. Petersburg, and he will forward it you with his ministerial dispatches. Your letters, with which you honour me, may also be forwarded to him. I persuade myself that Count de Montmorin will do it with pleasure."

List of gentlemen to whom busts are to be sent.

2.	General St. Clair, Mr. Ross,	of Philadelphia.
2.	Mr. John Jay, General Irvine,	of New York.
2.	Mr. Sec. Thomson, Colonel Wadsworth,	of New York.
2.	Mr. J. Madison, Colonel Carrington,	Virginia.

"Admiral Paul Jones presents his respectful compliments to Mr. Short, and begs the favour of him to forward the eight busts mentioned in the above list, by the most direct opportunities from La Havre-de-Grace to America. Mr. Jefferson is written to on the subject, and Mr.

Houdon, who prepares the busts, will also have them carefully packed up in four boxes. The admiral prays Mr. Short to be so obliging as to write a line or two to each of the gentlemen for whom the busts are destined."

The entrance of Jones into the Russian navy was strenuously opposed by the English party at St. Petersburg. When the offer of the Empress to the American officer was first made public, a great number of English officers in the service of the empire immediately tendered their resignations. Some members of the Russian cabinet, who favoured the English alliance, were not backward in dilating upon the impolicy of offending, for one individual, so great a number of valuable officers; but the Empress was too well aware of the value of Jones's talents to be diverted from her purpose, and she compromised the affair, by distributing the English officers among the Cronstadt fleet commanded by Admiral Greg, and by appointing Paul Jones to the command of a division of the fleet serving against the Turks in the Liman sea.

The celebrated city of Oczakow was the point to which the attention of the imperial forces was directed. Potemkin had pledged himself to his royal mistress to gain this mighty bulwark of the Ottoman empire, and a powerful army, under the command of the celebrated Suwarrow, closely invested the city, while the Russian fleet, under the command of Prince Nassau-Seiger, narrowly watched the numerous vessels whose crescents vailed to the command of the Capitan Pacha. The Turkish fleet was not then the vain assemblage, which, according to the concurring testimony of modern newspapers we are now taught to believe it; and the imperial Catherine, not very sanguine in the talents of her royal admiral, appointed Paul Jones vice-admiral of the Liman sea.

The Prince of Nassau confined himself chiefly to the command of a flotilla. The following extracts will show that Jones did not look with a very favourable eye upon the prince's operations.

The Vice-Admiral to the Prince Nassau-Seiger.

1st June, 1788.

"No person can desire more than myself, to make a happy and at the same time glorious campaign, for the arms of her Imperial Majesty. If you can show me a more advantageous position than the one I already have, I will change my place with pleasure to adopt yours. If you are of opinion that my duty requires me to attack the Turkish fleet, under existing circumstances, I ask you if I ought not to wait until I can conquer it. Where is the man who will justify me, if, following my own will, and without any necessity, knowing nothing certain of the position of the army of his highness the Marshal Prince Potemkin, I should expose the squadron under my command to be burnt and taken? Do you believe the enemy will dare make a descent on this side of Kimbourn and thus place himself between two fires? The experience of the last year proves, that nothing is risked on the other

side, and that, the garrison is strong enough, and the generals able enough, to repel an attack of ten thousand men. But if the squadron which I have the honour to command, should be destroyed, it is not necessary for me to inform you, that the *Bog*, the *Cherson*, &c. &c., would be open to the ravages of the enemy. I would desire from my heart, that your highness would place one or two batteries under the walls of Kimbourn, to reinforce the place; but you must feel that it is impossible for me to escort you even under the guns of Kimbourn, without having first conquered the Turkish fleet. My intention is to protect Kimbourn, and I believe I do at this moment. If I advance, I shall find myself in a *position much less favourable*, without any perceptible advantage. We have a stronger force in our barges than the Turks, in consequence we can always go to the assistance of Kimbourn even against the wind."

Jones was, however, overruled: before he changed his position he made the following memorandum.

"The council of war of the squadron and of the flotilla which I held the 4th of June, very inconsiderately determined to abandon the only good position in the Liman (without knowing the intentions of his royal highness the prince marshal), and to advance three versts to occupy another infinitely more exposed and less strong. It was compromitting our means for the remainder of the war, without placing Kimbourn the least more in safety—in fact all was to the contrary.

J. P. J."

The Capitan Pacha was also quite aware that the Russian fleet had moved to "a position much less favourable;" and he immediately attacked the first division of the Russian flotilla under the command of the Prince of Nassau. The attack was so well timed, that the whole division must have been destroyed, had not Jones come up with the Turks and forced them to retreat with great loss. For this important service Jones received the great order of St. Anne. "The zeal and in-

trepidity," wrote Prince Potemkin to Jones, "manifested by your excellency in the affair against the Turks on the 7th of this month, in aiding the Prince of Nassau, merit a just distinction, and I return you my thanks. I am persuaded, that such undertakings will contribute much to the honour and glory of the Russian arms." Jones was exceedingly proud of his new order. "I am highly gratified," he answers Potemkin, "by the letter which your highness has done me the honour to write to me the 8th of this month, to inform me that you were satisfied with my conduct in the affair of the 7th instant. It is a new proof of your great and generous soul. I can assure you, that I did not enter into it to increase my own personal interests, but solely for the benefit of the Russian arms, as I saw the first division of the flotilla of her Imperial Majesty in disorder, and in a most critical situation." This affair with the Turks saved Kimbourn which the Turks had invested. The Capitan Pacha withdrew and the Wolodimer anchored off Oczakow.

On the 26th of June following, the whole Tur-

kish fleet attacked Jones's division. The battle was fought at the entrance of the Liman, but, owing to the unskilfulness of their pilots, the total defeat of the Turks was never doubtful. The Capitan Pacha with a considerable part of his fleet ran aground early in the engagement, and, thus situated, was exposed, not only to the fire of the Russian fleet, but to that of the forts of Kimbourn. The destruction and defeat of the Turks were inevitable. The flag ship of the Capitan and eight others of the largest vessels were taken, and above four thousand prisoners. Before many of the Turkish ships could be taken possession of, the flotilla under the Prince of Nassau sailed up and set the prizes on fire, to the astonishment of the whole fleet.

The Vice-Admiral to the Prince Marshal Potemkin.

"Off Oczakow, June, 1788.

"I could not have been more flattered than by the letter which it has pleased your highness to write to me 19th instant, to mark your satisfaction for the victory gained over the enemy, and

to do me the particular honour of offering me your thanks.

"Your highness can now look upon the capture of Oczakow as certain as the most superior means and arrangements can render military operations. We learn by our prisoners, that there are eight thousand troops in that place, who are but badly disciplined. There remain only with Hassan Pacha four vessels of his fleet, to wit, one small frigate, one schooner, one sloop of war, and one chebec aground; but the flotilla is still with him. I would not have been surprised to have been attacked in the night. They are greatly enraged, and, in consequence, will commit some desperate acts. Each day some of their men are hung up to the yard-arm."

Paul Jones to Mr. Jefferson.

Wolodimer, off Oczakow, $\frac{\text{9th Sept.}}{\text{29th Aug.}}$ 1788.

"The American constitution I suppose is adopted; but I am still afraid of the danger that may result from entrusting the president with

such tempting power as military rank and command must give him.

"I can in no situation, however remote I am, be easy, while the liberties of America seem to me to be in danger.

"I leave to Mr. Littlepage to inform you particularly of the military events that have taken place here this campaign. I can take no delight in telling over tales of blood. God knows there has been too much of it spilt. Scenes of horror have been acted under my eyes; in which, however, I have the happiness to say, I had no part."

Jones did not refrain from denouncing the conduct of Nassau, in very strong language, to the Prince Marshal. Potemkin listened to him with attention and treated him always with marked distinction, but delayed under different pretences the promised inquiry. When the report of the engagement appeared in the Imperial Gazette of Petersburg, Jones saw with astonishment that it was described as a brilliant victory gained by the Russian fleet under Prince Nassau. He immedi-

ately wrote a violent, and, as he afterwards admitted, an intemperate note to the Prince Marshal. Jones was answered by an order to repair to Petersburg, and he was immediately appointed to the command of the Northern seas, an office which is the Chiltern Hundreds of the Russian navy.

"It is a difficult thing at all times," says a writer of the times, "to discover truth amidst the misrepresentations of courts, of ministers, of commanders. Should any one write, for instance, the history of the late war between Russia and Turkey, he would take for his guide in relating the first events, the siege of Ochakof, the accounts published by the court of Petersburg, and the reports of the commanders. There he would find a brilliant victory gained by Prince Nassau over the Turkish fleet in the Liman; but if he could get the report made by Paul Jones to the Admiralty of Cherson, signed by all the commanders of the fleet, he would find that no engagement took place, (except a distant cannonade,) that the Turkish ships ran aground by their

ignorance and bad manœuvres; and that Nassau with his *flotilla*, instead of taking possession of them, set them on fire. This journal, which I have read, and taken an extract from, was forbidden by Prince Potemkin to be sent to Petersburg, and the whole campaign as it stands on record, is nearly a romance. The fortress might have been taken the 1st of July with more ease than on the 6th of December, 1788, and the commander-in-chief knew it. I was at the opening of the trenches and at the storming of the place, and therefore can speak of facts to which I was an eye witness."*

The defeat of the Turks had been so decisive, that the talents of Jones were no longer requisite in the then campaign. Potemkin could therefore avenge his insulted dignity by the removal of the vice-admiral; but he intended that removal only as a temporary one, and he gave Jones a private letter to the Empress, recommending him in the warmest manner to the imperial favour.

* Eton.—Survey of the Turkish Empire.

On his arrival at St. Petersburg, Jones found that the English party had not been idle during his absence in their endeavours to injure him in the favour of the Empress. The following correspondence will shew that he continued for a long time at St. Petersburg in great esteem at the court.

Paul Jones to Mr. Jefferson.

St. Petersburg, January 15 (26), 1789.

" Having wrote you fully respecting the Denmark business by Mr. Littlepage, with the papers necessary to finish it, I now have the honour to transmit you the extract of my journal that you wish to communicate to the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres on the subject of the medal with which I am honoured by Congress. I have only at present to inform you that I returned here from the Black Sea a short time ago, by the special desire of her Imperial Majesty; but I know not yet my future destination. I congratulate you on the establishment of the New

American Constitution. Among other good effects a marine force will naturally result from it. If there is still a disposition to send a force against the Algerines, would it not be a good thing to conclude a treaty with this country, and make the war a common cause in the Mediterranean? The Turks and Algerines are together, and acted in conjunction against us before Oczakow. A treaty might now be concluded, permitting her Imperial Majesty to enlist seamen in America, and assuring to America after the peace a free navigation to and from the Black Sea. If you approve of this idea in general, various other things will necessarily be engrafted in the treaty, and I flatter myself I may obtain the command of the force destined to act in conjunction with that of the United States. I beg to hear from you as soon as possible, and I hope to be favoured with your sentiments, as I have already had some conversation with this government on the subject. Please to mention the situation of your arrangement with the court of Denmark. Present my best respects to the marquis and to Mr. Short.* I congratulate

you all on the happy acquisition of liberty in France. His present majesty has established a more glorious title than any of his predecessors, and posterity will bless his memory and call him, '*Louis the Citizen!*' I avail myself of an express that is just setting out from the office of Foreign Affairs, so that I have not time even to copy this."

Paul Jones to Mr. Jefferson.

"St. Petersburg, January 20 (31), 1789.

"I had the honour to write you a line the 15th (26th) from this place, where I am arrived a short time ago from the Black Sea. I send enclosed an extract of the journal of my campaign in 1779, as you desired, and I now enclose an extract of the letter I wrote you by Mr. Littlepage. I have heard nothing from him since he left me. I know only that he arrived at Warsaw, but am quite uncertain about his return, as he proposed, to Paris. I can only inform you that I returned here by the

special desire of the Empress; but I know not as yet how or where I am to be employed for the next campaign. I mentioned in my last as my opinion, that if the New Government of America determined to chastise the Algerines, I think it now a favourable moment to conclude a treaty with Russia. The Turks and Algerines were combined against us on the Black Sea. The United States could grant leave for Russia to enlist American seamen, and making a common cause with Russia in the Mediterranean, America might, at the peace, obtain a free navigation to and from the Black Sea. If such a treaty were to take place, I believe I could obtain the command of the combined force; at least no objection would be made to it *here*. Such a connection might lead to various mutual advantages in the commerce between the two nations. I beg to hear from you and to know the situation of our claim on the court of Denmark; for the only objection made by the Count Bernsdorff is now removed by the establishment of the New American Constitution."

Secret Note addressed to the Minister of St. Petersburg by the Vice-Admiral.

June 6, 1789.

"The great object of a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean is to endeavour to cut off the communication between Egypt and the coast of Syria with Constantinople, from whence they procure their corn, rice, coffee, &c. This operation will oblige them to withdraw a very considerable part of their fleet from the Black Sea. To encompass this end I ask a carte-blanche and only, exclusive of small boats, five large vessels, like the East-Indiamen which are purchased in London after they have made three voyages, and which carry from forty to fifty guns. They are strong vessels and good sailers. They are sent from London to Naples under the English flag under pretext of being engaged in mercantile enterprizes. No person can have anything to say against it. The crew of those vessels being arrived in Italy would engage in the service of

Russia. For the rest we would easily find good sailors at Malta and at Naples. I would employ two small French vessels between Malta and Naples trading to Smyrna to procure continual news from Constantinople, and of the force and position of the Turkish fleet. There are some very important blows to be made, but in order to succeed we must not speak of this matter beforehand. We are informed that the want of provisions at Constantinople has occasioned a rebellion, discouraged the people, and caused a great desertion of the troops. It is the policy of the vizier to render himself popular by providing sufficiently for them."

To the Minister at St. Petersburg.

"St. Petersburg, June 13 (24), 1789.

"The detachment of vessels of which your Excellency has spoken to me, cannot but be very advantageous to the operations which I projected: however, I regard the means mentioned in the

private note which I addressed you, as a thing most useful, and which will not cost so much in proportion. I would wish, since circumstances will permit of it, to unite the means, and then I think we will have reason to be content with the advantages which will be the result. I mentioned to your Excellency that I am the only officer who has made the campaign of Liman without being *promoted*, but I beg you to believe that I did not enter into the service of Russia to create difficulties, and since the Empress has granted me her esteem and confidence I desire nothing else, except occasions to prove my attachment by new services.

"PAUL JONES."

Notwithstanding the countenance of the Empress, Jones found that his influence at court daily decreased. The Russian ministers were unwilling to offend England by a refusal to drive him from the service, and their intrigues to accomplish this end were unceasing. Among other points an amour of Jones's was made the subject of accusa-

tion to the Empress, a strange ground for punishment at the court of Catherine. By the kindness of Count Segur, Jones quickly cleared his character, but he quitted St. Petersburg in disgust.

The Count de Segur, minister plenipotentiary from France to St. Petersburg, to the Count D'Eestrns, minister plenipotentiary of his most Christian Majesty, near his Majesty the King of Prussia, and the Chevalier Bourgoing, minister plenipotentiary from France to Hamburg.

"St. Petersburg, 26th Aug. 1789.

SIR,

The Vice-Admiral Paul Jones, who will have the honour to deliver this letter, commanded during the last campaign, a Russian squadron stationed on the Liman. The Empress has decorated him, on this occasion, with the order of St. Anne. He had a right, by his actions, to a promotion and to a recompense, but this celebrated sailor, knowing better how to conduct himself in the midst of his battles than in courts, has offended, by his frankness, some of the most pow-

erful people, and amongst others the Prince Potemkin. His enemies and his rivals have profited by his momentary disgrace to hasten his destruction. Calumny has served their purposes; they have given credit to reports absolutely false. They have accused him of violating a girl. The Empress, being deceived, has forbid him the court, and wished to bring him to trial. Every person has abandoned him; I alone have upheld and defended him. The country to which he belongs, the order of military merit which he bears, and which he has so nobly acquired, his brilliant reputation, and above all, our long acquaintance, have made it a law to me. My cares have not been in vain: I have caused his innocence to be acknowledged. He has repaired to court, and has kissed the hand of the sovereign, but he will not remain in a country where he believes himself to have been treated with injustice. However, he has not given in his resignation. The Empress still preserves for him his rank and emoluments, and only grants him permission to absent himself for a limited time. The true motive of his departure

is founded on his own discontent. But he has made use of, as a pretext, important affairs which call him to France, to Denmark, and which may, perhaps, require his presence in America. I beg you, Sir, to render to this brave man, as interesting by the reverses of fortune which he has met with as by his past success, every service which may be in your power. It will lay me under a true obligation, and I shall share, in a lively manner, his gratitude.

I have the honour to be,
with inviolable attachment, &c.
LE COUNT SEGUR."

Count Segur to Count Montmorin.

"St. Petersburg, 21st July, 1789.

"The enemies of the Vice-Admiral Paul Jones having caused to be circulated reports entirely destitute of foundation, concerning the voyage which this general officer is about to undertake, I would wish the enclosed article, the authenticity of which I guarantee, should be inserted

in the Gazette of France, and in the other public papers, which are submitted to the inspection of your department. This article will undeceive those who have believed the calumny, and will prove to the friends and to the compatriots of the vice-admiral, that he has sustained the reputation acquired by his bravery and his talents, during the last war, that the Empress desires to retain him in her service, and that if he absents himself at this moment, it is with his own free will, and for particular reasons, which cannot leave any stain on his honour.

"The glorious marks of the satisfaction and bounty of the King toward M. Paul Jones, his attachment to France, which he has served so usefully in the common cause, his rights as a subject, and as an Admiral of the United States, the protection of the ministers of the King, and my personal friendship for this distinguished officer, with whom I made a campaign in America, are so many reasons which appear to me to justify the interest which I took in all that concerned him during his stay in Russia."

"Article to be inserted in the public prints, and particularly in the Gazette of France.

"St. Petersburg, 21st July, 1789.—The Vice-Admiral Paul Jones, being on the point of returning to France, where private affairs require his presence, had the honour to take leave of the Empress the 7th of this month, and to be admitted to kiss the hand of her Imperial Majesty,* who confided to him the command of her vessels of war stationed on the Liman, during the campaign of 1788. As a mark of favour for his conduct during this campaign, the Empress has decorated him with the insignia of the order of St. Ann; and her imperial Majesty, satisfied with his services, only grants him permission to absent himself for a limited time, and still preserves for him his emoluments and his rank.

THE COUNT DE SEGUR."

The slander was finally put to rest. Among other letters of congratulation, the vice-admiral

* This general officer, so celebrated by his brilliant actions during the course of the American war, was called, in 1787, to the service of her Imperial Majesty.

received one from the Baron de la Houge, minister plenipotentiary of France at Copenhagen.

The Baron de la Houge to Admiral Jones.

"Copenhagen, 9th Feb. 1790.

"It is but a few days since I received, with the letter with which you have honoured me, of the 29th December, the copies of that of the Count de Segur, which you have been pleased to communicate to me, and which were accompanied by the article inserted on your account in the Gazette of France, and which I had read. This article, which has been repeated in many foreign Gazettes, has entirely destroyed all the venomous effects which calumny had employed to tarnish the distinguished reputation which you have acquired by your talents and your valour. In consequence, public opinion still continues to render you justice, and the most noble revenge you can take on your enemies, is to gather fresh laurels. The celebrated Athenian general, Themistocles, has said "that he did not envy the situation of one who was not envied."

" As to the affair concerning which you speak to me, and in which you have been witness to my zeal, as well for your compatriots as for my own, it remains still at the same point where you left it on your departure for St. Petersburg, the 15th April, 1788. A note, in answer, which the Count de Bernstorff addressed to you on the 4th, keeps always in view the affair which you negotiated with him, but for the conclusion of which you are not clothed with the necessary plenipotentiary powers; you know, however, that according to the note of Count de Bernstorff, Paris ought to have been the seat of the negotiation between the Baron de Blome, envoy extraordinary of his Danish Majesty, and Mr. Jefferson, minister plenipotentiary of the United States of North America, near the King. You inform me that Mr. Jefferson is at present in America, where he has been appointed secretary of state for foreign affairs. No person then can instruct his successor to Paris to take up the thread of negotiation with the Baron de Blome better than himself. I spoke, three days since, to the Count de Berns-

torff, who perseveres, according to what he told me, in all that he mentioned to you in his note of the 4th April, 1788, but the minister observed to me, that the circumstances of the actual crisis of Europe did not permit him to follow, at this time, the negotiation, which it appeared to him best to keep back until the return of a calm. When I shall have the pleasure to see Mr. Braseronde, our consul at Elsineur, I shall take care to renew to him the assurance of your remembrance, to which he will most certainly be sensible, as likewise Mr. Framery, secretary of my legation, who begs you to accept his compliments and his thanks. You will part, in all probability, about the commencement of the fine season, to return to Russia. I wish that your voyage may procure me, as you have given me reason to expect, satisfaction to express personally to you the distinguished sentiments of attachment and consideration with which I have the honour to be,

Sir, &c.

(Signed) LE BARON DE LA HOUGE."

This letter of the Baron de la Houge, looked forward to Jones's speedy return to the Russian service; and the subjoined, addressed to Prince Potemkin, evinces that such was the desire of Jones.

To his Highness the Prince Marshal.

" Paris, 24th July, 1790.

" My Lord,

" I do not think it becomes me to let pass the occasion of the return of your aide-de-camp, to congratulate you on the brilliant success of your operations since I had the honour to serve under your orders, and to express to you, in all the sincerity of my heart, the regret I feel in not being fortunate enough to contribute thereto. After the campaign of Liman, when I had leave, according to the special desire of her Imperial Majesty, to return to the department of the northern seas, your highness did me the favour to grant me a letter of recommendation to the Empress, and to speak to me these words, " rely upon my

attachment. I am disposed to grant you the most solid proofs of my friendship for the present and for the future." Do you recollect them? This discourse was too flattering for me to forget it, and I hope you will permit me to remind you of it. Circumstances and the high rank of my enemies have deprived me of the benefits which I had dared to hope from the esteem which you had expressed for me, and which I had endeavoured to merit by my services. You know the disagreeable situation in which I was placed, but if, as I dared to believe, I have preserved your good opinion, I may still hope to see it followed by advantages; which it will be my glory to owe to you. M. Desimolin can testify to you, that my attachment to Russia, and to the great Princess, who is its sovereign, has always been constant and durable; I attended to my duties, and not to my fortune. I have been wrong, and I avow it with a frankness which carries with it its own excuse: 1st. That I did not request of you a carte-blanche, and the absolute command of all the forces of the Liman. 2d. To have written to

your highness under feelings highly excited, on the 1½th October, 1788. These are my faults. If my enemies have wished to impute others to me, I swear before God, that they are a calumny. It only rests with me, my Lord, to unmask the villainy of my enemies, by publishing my journal of the operations of the campaign of Liman, with the proofs, clear as the day, and which I have in my hands. It only rests with me to prove that I directed, under your orders, all the useful operations against the Captain Pacha: that it was I who beat him on the 7th June; that it was I and the brave men I commanded, who conquered him on the 17th June, and who chased into the sands, two of his largest galleys, before our flotilla was ready to fire a single shot, and during the time a very considerable part of the force of the enemy remained at anchor immediately in rear of my squadron: that it was I who gave to General Suwarrow, (he had the nobleness to declare it at court before me, to the most respectable witnesses,) the first project to establish the battery and breast works on the isthmus of Kimbourn, and which

was of such great utility on the night of the 17—18th June: that it was I, in person, who towed, with my sloops and other vessels, the batteries which were the nearest to the place, the 1st July, and who took the Turkish gallies by boarding, very much in advance of our line, whilst some gentlemen who have been too highly rewarded in consequence of it, were content to remain in the rear of the struggles of our line, if I may be allowed to use the expression, sheltered from danger. You have seen, yourself, my Lord, that I never valued my person, on any occasion, where I had the good fortune to act under your eye. The whole of Europe acknowledges my veracity, and grants me some military talents, which it would give me pleasure to employ in the service of Russia under your orders. The time will arrive, my Lord, when you will know the exact truth of what I have told you. Time is a sovereign master. It will teach you to appreciate the man, who, loaded with your benefits, departed from the court of Russia with a memorial prepared by other hands and the enemies of your

glory, and of which memorial he made no use, because your brilliant success at the taking of Oczakow, which he learned on his arrival in White-Russia, gave the lie to all the horors which had been brought forward to enrage the Empress against you. You know it was the echo of another intriguer at the court of Vienna. In fine, Time will teach you, my Lord, that I am neither a mountebank nor a swindler, but a man, true and loyal. I rely upon the attachment and friendship which you promised me. I rely on it, because I feel myself worthy of it. I reclaim your promise, because you are just, and I know you are a lover of truth. I commanded, and was the only responsible person in the campaign of Liman, the others being only of inferior rank, or simple volunteers; and I am, however, the only one who has not been promoted or rewarded. I am extremely thankful for the order of St. Ann, which you procured for me, according to your letter of thanks *for my conduct in the affair of the 7th June*, which was not decisive. The 17th June, I gained over the Captain Pacha, a com-

plete victory, which saved Cherson and Kimbourn, the terror of which caused the enemy to lose nine vessels of war, in their precipitate flight on the following night, under the cannon of the battery and breast-work, which I had caused to be erected on the isthmus of Kimbourn. On this occasion I had the honour again to receive a *letter of thanks*, but my enemies and rivals have found means to abuse your confidence, since they have been exclusively rewarded. They merited rather to have been punished for having burnt nine armed prizes, with their crews, which were absolutely in our power, having previously ran aground under our guns.

"I have been informed that, according to the institution of the order of St. George, I have the right to claim its decorations in the second class, for the victory of the 17th June, but I rely upon your justice and generosity. I regret, that a secret project, which I addressed to the Count du Besborodska the 6th of June of the last year, has not been adopted. I communicated this project to the Baron de Beichler, who has promised

me to speak to you of it. I was detained in St. Petersburg until the end of August, in order to hinder me, as I have heard, from proceeding into the service of Sweden. My poor enemies, how I pity them! But for this circumstance my intention was to have presented myself at your head-quarters, in the hope to be of some utility; and the Baron de Beichler, in departing from St. Petersburg in order to join you, promised me to assure you of my devotion for the service of your department, and that I should hold myself ready to return to you the instant I was called. My conduct has not since changed, although I hold in my hand a parole for two years, and I regard eighteen months of this parole, in a time of war, more as a punishment than as a favour. I hope that your highness will succeed in concluding peace this year, with the Turks; but, in a contrary case, if it should please you to recall me to take command of the fleet in the ensuing campaign, I would ask permission to bring with me the French officer concerning whom I spoke to you, with one or two others, who are good tacticians, and

who have some knowledge of war. On my return here, I received a gold medal, granted me by the *unanimous* voice of Congress, at the moment I received a parole from this honourable body. The United States have decreed me this honour, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of the services which I rendered to America, eight years previous, and have ordered a copy to be presented to all the sovereigns and all the academies of Europe with the exception of Great Britain. There is reason to believe, that your highness will be numbered among the sovereigns of Europe, in consequence of the treaty of peace which you are about to conclude with the Turks; but in any case, if a copy of my medal will be acceptable to you as a mark of my attachment for your person, it will do me an honour to offer it to you.

PAUL JONES."

As Potemkin was not in want of an admiral, Paul Jones, according to the fashion of all ministers, European or Asiatic, was left unanswered. Jones immediately wrote to the Empress, and as

his letter did not produce the effect he desired, he addressed the autocrat by other and surer means.

To her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias.

Paris, $\frac{\text{25th Feb.}}{\text{8th March}}$ 1791.

MADAM,

"If I could imagine that the letter which I had the honour to write to your majesty from Warsaw the 25th September, 1789, had come to hand, it would be without doubt indiscreet in me, to beg you to cast your eyes on the documents enclosed, which *accuse no person*, and the only intent of which is, to let you see that in the important campaign of Liman, the part which I played, was not either that of a *zero* or of a *harlequin*, who required to be made a colonel at the *tail* of his regiment." I have in my hands the means to prove, incontestibly, that I directed all the useful operations against the Capitan Pacha. The task which was given to me at this critical conjuncture was very difficult. I was obliged to

sacrifice my own opinion, and risk my military reputation for the benefit of your empire. But I hope you will be satisfied with the manner in which I conducted myself, and also of the subsequent arrangements of which I am persuaded you have not been acquainted until this moment. The gracious counsel which your majesty has often done me the honour to repeat to me before my departure for the Black Sea, and in the letter which you have deigned to write to me afterwards, has since been the rule of my conduct, and the faithful attachment with which you had inspired me, for your person, was the only reason which hindered me from requesting my dismissal when I wrote to you from Warsaw; for I confess that I was extremely afflicted, and even offended, at having received a parole for two years in time of war, a parole which it has never entered into my mind to wish for, and still less to ask, and of which I have not profited to go to America, or even to Denmark, where I had important business; for I had always hoped to be usefully employed in your service, before the expiration

of this parole, which has done me so much injury, and although in public I would not have failed to have spoken to you at the last audience which you granted me, yet I was unfortunately led to believe the repeated promises made me, that I should have a private audience in order to lay before you my military projects, and to speak of them in detail.

"I hope that the brilliant success with which providence has blessed your arms will enable you to grant peace to your enemies without shedding more of human blood, but in a contrary case your majesty can be well instructed from my project, No. 12, of the last year.

"As I have my enemies, and as the term of my parole is about to expire, I await the orders of your majesty, and should be flattered, if it is your pleasure for me to come and render you an account in person. Mr. ——, who has the goodness to charge himself with this packet, which I have addressed to him, sealed with my arms, will also undertake to forward me your orders, I therefore pray you to withdraw me as soon as possible from the cruel uncertainty in which I am placed.

Should you deign, madam, to inform me, that you are pleased with the services which I have had the happiness to render you, I will console myself for the misfortunes which I have suffered, as I drew my sword for you from personal attachment and ambition, but not for interest. My fortune, as you know, is not very considerable, but as I am philosopher enough to confine myself to my means, I shall be always rich.

I have the honour to be,

Madam,

Of your Imperial Majesty,

The most faithful and

Obedient servant,

PAUL JONES."

Mr. Jefferson had now returned to America, and entered upon the duties of Secretary of State, under the presidency of Washington. Still smarting under the injuries he had received in Russia, Jones addressed the annexed letter to his old and stedfast friend.

To His Excellency Thomas Jefferson, Esq. Secretary of State, Philadelphia.

"Paris, March 20, 1791.

"DEAR SIR,

"On my return from Russia to Amsterdam in December, 1789, I wrote to several gentlemen in America, particularly to the vice-president and to Mr. Secretary Thomson, enclosing some evidence of the treatment I met with in Russia. I wrote at the same time to the *president*, enclosing a letter from the Count de Segur. Messrs. Shephorsts and Hubbard undertook to forward my packets by a ship, then ready to sail for Philadelphia, called the Pensylvania Packet, John Earl, master; but though that ship arrived safe, I have not, to this hour, received a single line in answer. I need not express to you the pleasure I received from your acceptance of the honourable and high station of secretary of state for domestic and foreign affairs. I felicitate our country on having wisely confided her interests to such worthy and

able hands; but it gives me pain that so inadequate a provision has been made for doing the honours incumbent on the first minister of a nation of such resources as America, and I wish that matter may be soon changed to your satisfaction. As it has been and still is my first wish and highest ambition to shew myself worthy of the flattering marks of esteem with which I have been honoured by my country, I think it my duty to lay before you, both as my particular friend, and as a public minister, the papers I now enclose relative to my connection with Russia, viz. three pieces dated at St. Petersburg, and signed by the Count de Segur; a letter from me dated at Paris last summer, and sent to the Prince de Potemkin, and a letter from me to the Empress, dated a few days ago. I have selected these testimonials from a great variety of, perhaps, still stronger proofs in my hands; but though the Baron de Grimm has undertaken to transmit to her Imperial Majesty's own hands my last packet, I shall not be surprized if I should find myself constrained to withdraw from the Russian service, and to publish my

journal of the campaign I commanded: in that case I hope to prove to the world that my operations not only saved Cherson and Crimea, but decided the fate of the war.

"Chevalier Littlepage, now here on his way from Spain to the north, has promised me a letter to you on my subject, which, I presume, will shew the meanness and absurdity of the intrigues that were practised for my persecution at St. Petersburg. I did not myself comprehend all the blackness of that business before he came here and related to me the information he received from a gentleman of high rank in the diplomatique, with whom he travelled in company from Madrid to Paris. That gentleman had long resided in a public character at the court of St. Petersburg, and was there all the time of the pitiful complot against me; which was conducted by a little great man behind the curtain.

"The unequal reception with which I had, at first, been honoured by the Empress, had been extremely mortifying and painful to the English at St. Petersburg; and the courtier just men-

tioned, (finding that politics had taken a turn far more alarming than he had expected at the beginning of the war,) wishing to soothe the court of London into a pacific humour, found no first step so expedient as that of sacrificing me! But instead of producing the effect he wished, this base conduct, on which he pretended to ground a conciliation, rather widened the political breach, and made him to be despised by the English minister, by the English cabinet, and by the gentleman who related the secret to Chevalier Littlepage.

"I must further inform you, that a few days after my arrival from Denmark at St. Petersburg, I received from the Danish minister at that court a letter under the seal of the Count de Bernstorff, which, having opened, I found to be a patent from the King of Denmark in the following terms: 'Having reasons for wishing to give new proofs of our bounty to the Chevalier Paul Jones, commander-in-chief of the squadrons of the United States of America, and designing, above all, to prove our esteem in conse-

quence of the regard which he has shewn for the Danish flag, during the time of his command in the northern seas, we grant him for the present moment, and annually during his life, the sum of 1500 crowns, Danish currency, to be paid at Copenhagen, without any retention whatever!'

"The day before I left the court of Copenhagen, the Prince Royal had desired to speak with me in his apartment. His royal highness was extremely polite, and after saying many civil things, remarked, he hoped I was satisfied with the attentions that had been shewn to me since my arrival, and that the King would wish to give me some mark of his esteem. 'I have never had the happiness to render any service to His Majesty.' 'That is nothing,' said he, 'a man like you ought to be excepted from ordinary rules. You could not have shewn yourself more delicate as regards our flag, and every person here loves you.'

"I took leave without further explanation. I have felt myself in an embarrassing situation on account of the King's patent, and I have as yet

made no use of it, though three years have nearly elapsed since I received it. I wished to consult you, but when I understood that you would not return to Europe, I consulted Mr. Short and Mr. G. Morris, who both gave me their opinion, that I may with propriety accept the advantage offered. I have in consequence determined to draw for the sum due, and I think you will not disapprove this step, as it can by no means weaken the claim of the United States, but rather the contrary.

"You will observe that the Empress of Russia has decorated me with the great order of St. Anne; and as I have appeared with that order ever since, I must beg the favour of you to obtain and transmit to me, as soon as possible, the proper authority of the United States for my retaining that honour. You are sensible I did not accept the offer of her Imperial Majesty with a view to detach myself from the service of America, but that I have done my utmost to fulfil the intention of Congress in sending me last to Europe to acquire that degree of knowledge which may

hereafter render me more extensively useful.' I have, in some measure, by my experience and observation, effected the object of my pursuit; though, I confess, I have still much to learn, and I wish to embrace the first occasion to embark in the French fleet of evolution.

"I have not since my return here appeared at court; but the Marquis de la Fayette will shortly conduct me to the King, when I shall present my journal of the American war, with the letter of which I am bearer for the United States. I reserve for my return to America to produce to the United States full and unquestionable evidence, signed by the grand pensioner, that my conduct in 1779 drew the United Netherlands into the war. This is saying enough to a man of your information; for it would be superfluous to enumerate the advantages that thence resulted to America, particularly the great event which took place under your own eyes, and which could not have happened if Holland had remained a neutral power.

"I am much obliged by the trouble you took

in forwarding, before you left Europe, the busts I had promised to different gentlemen in America. Having lately received a letter from Mr. Burton, a former member of Congress, with whom I had the honour of being acquainted at New York, requesting my bust, in behalf of the state of North Carolina, I have ordered Mr. Houdon to prepare and forward it by the first ship from Havre de Grace, for Philadelphia; and as that bust will be decorated with the Order of St. Anne, on the American uniform, this is one reason why I wish to be authorized by the United States to wear that order. I shall take the liberty of addressing the bust to you, requesting you to deliver it to the North Carolina delegates, who will be so good as to forward it to the governor of the state.

"I continue to be sensibly affected by the situation of our poor countrymen at Algiers: the more so as I learn indirectly from the pirate, now here, who took the greatest part of them, that if they are not very soon redeemed, they will be treated with no more lenity than is shewn to other

slaves. He told this to Mr. Littlepage, who repeated it to me."

The Chevalier Littlepage to Mr. Jefferson.

"Paris, March 23, 1791.

"You will doubtless share my regret in reflecting that we were the principal means of engaging Admiral Sir John Paul Jones to accept the propositions made to him, in 1788, by the Russian court. Never were more brilliant prospects held forth to an individual, and never individual better calculated to attain them. The campaign upon the Liman of 1778, added lustre to the arms of Russia, and ought to have established for ever the reputation and fortune of this gallant officer, to whose conduct those successes were owing; but unfortunately in Russia, more perhaps than elsewhere, everything is governed by intrigue. Some political motives, I have reason to think, concurred in depriving Admiral Paul Jones of the fruits of his services; he was thought to be par-

ticularly obnoxious to the English nation, and the idea of paying a servile compliment to a power whose enmity occasions all the present embarrassments of Russia, induced some leading persons to ruin him in the opinion of the Empress, by an accusation too ridiculous.

"It would be needless to enter into details; you have too much confidence in Admiral Paul Jones to doubt the veracity of what he will personally communicate to you, and to which I refer you."

Paul Jones passed the remainder of the year 1791 at Paris in extreme ill health. The prospects of the succeeding year did not brighten. He found his friend La Fayette waging an unsuccessful struggle with that dark, unhallowed crew, the Jacobins. Jones was indeed spared from seeing "the best of kings," arraigned for imaginary crimes before an unauthorized tribunal, and his chivalric spirit was not outraged by the more pitiable tragedy that followed after. Early in the month of June, 1792, Paul Jones breathed his

last at Paris. The National Assembly went into mourning on account of his death, and a deputation of their members followed his body to its grave.

Paul Jones was short in stature and slenderly made. He was authoritative in his manner "with a very determined air."

That by law he was a pirate and a rebel, I shall not deny; since by the same law Washington would have been drawn and quartered, and Franklin had already been denounced as "a hoary headed traitor." But we have seen, that nothing can be more erroneous than the prevalent history of his character and fortunes. As to his moral conduct it would seem, that few characters have been more subject to scrutiny and less to condemnation. His very faults were the consequences of feelings which possess our admiration, and his weaknesses were allied to a kindly nature. He was courageous, generous, and humane; and he appears to have been the only one in this age of revolutions, whose profession of philanthropy was not disgraced by his practice. As to his mental capacity, it cannot be

denied that his was a most ardent and extraordinary genius. Born in the lowest rank of life, and deprived by his mode of existence from even the common education which every Scotchman inherits, Paul Jones was an enthusiastic student, and succeeded in forming a style which cannot be sufficiently admired for its pure and strenuous eloquence. His plans, also, were not the crude conceptions of a vigorous but untutored intellect, but the matured systems which could only have been generated by calm observation and patient study. His plan for attacking the coast of England was most successful in execution, though conceived on the banks of the Delaware; and we cannot but perceive a schooled and philosophic intellect in his hints for the formation of the navy of a new nation. Accident had made him a republican, but the cold spirit of republicanism had not tainted his chivalric soul, and his political principles were not the offspring of the specious theories of a dangerous age. There was nothing in the nature of his mind which would have prevented him from being the commander instead of

the conqueror of the Serapis. He delighted in the pomp and circumstance of royalty, and we scarcely know when to deem him happiest—when the venerable Franklin congratulated him for having freed all his suffering countrymen from the dungeons of Great Britain, or when he received a golden hilted sword from the "protector of the rights of human nature." Although he died in his forty-fifth year, his public life was not a short one, and by his exertions at the different courts of Europe he mainly contributed to the success of the American cause.

Now that the fever of party-prejudice has subsided, England wishes not to withhold from him the tribute of her admiration. America, "the country of his fond election," must ever rank him not only among the firmest, but among the ablest, of her patriots.

THE END.

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